" ॐ भूयानसि महानसि "

SANSKRIT Drama & Dramatists

(THEIR CHRONOLOGY, MIND AND ART)

(With the text of Dasharupakam Pr. I and III)

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PREFACE

The necessity of such a book as the present one giving an æsthetic appreciation of the Sanskrit poets was first felt by me while lecturing to my students at the Gujrath College. A greater portion of the present book is the outcome of a course of lectures that I had to deliver to them. I had to revise the whole in the light of the latest researches in chronology and to rewrite it in order to suit the book form

I do not think it necessary to offer any apology for writing this book The university has introduced the study of Sanskrit dramatics amongst the subjects to be studied for the B A (Languages) There are some excellent books but as they are either in French or German, they are not available to our students. Keith's book, though scholarly and masterly, leaves room for a detailed study of every play, for the right interpretation of traditions, for the application of canons of criticism not only of the West but also of the East and for a dispassionate consideration of the researches announced by scholars on this side of ours in vernacular magazines It is these features that distinguish this book

I have divided the book into eight chapters. The first gives all the theories propounded by various oriental scholars regarding the origin of the Sanskrit Drama A rational interpretation of the tradition given in the Nātyashāstra is attempted towards the end of it The second chapter gives the build and the principles of the

structure of the drama. It includes a discussion of the formative, imaginative historical and spiritual aspects of Sankrit Drama. The principles stated in this are inductively applied to the several dramas in subsequent chapters The plan of discussion that has been adopted is established on the basis of practical experience in the college classes—first the chronological data—then the plot construction—then the characterization, and lastly the style

It was my ardent desire to include in the book the philological data offered by the Prākrits of the plays and to see how far they enable us to arrive at the approximate chronology of the poets But for better reasons I reserve it for another treatise which I intend to issue very shortly first for private circulation amongst the scholars and professor-friends of mine

I shall feel my labours amply rewarded if this present attempt of mine succeeds in meeting the demands of the students for whom it is intended I leave it to the readers to judge how far it has fulfilled the original aim and how far it has come up to the level of scholarly and scientific research. I cannot help feeling that there is room for difference of opinion on questions of chronology and appreciation, proportion and emphasis It has been my effort to settle the questions on the basis of all available evidence

I tender my sincere thanks to all my professor-friends who very kindly went through the pages of the manuscript and made some valuable suggestions

I am particularly thankful to Mr. S R Sardesai, B A L L B for going over the proofs with a very vigilant eye and Mr V.V. Atitkar, B.A for taking out the book through the press with untiring and speedy efforts I tender an apology for some mistakes that have crept in with regard to the diacritical marks

Various books have been of service in the preparation of this book and those specifically drawn upon are duly acknowledged in the proper places But I mention two as the cause of special obligation, 'Sanskrit Drama' by Keith and 'Hindu Theatre' by Wilson.

I cannot let go unmentioned the efforts of my young children—Dādā and Bachu for arranging and Lakhā and Indu for disarranging the slips of the index

SATARA
Ganesh Chaturthi
18—6—1927

K P Kulkarni.

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A. V —Atharvaveda
B N —भ ना cr Bharata Nātyashāstra. (Nirnaya-sagar)
Ch.—Chārudatta
D Q —Deccan College Quarterly
D R.—Dasharupakam
Ind Ant —Indian Antiquary
J R A S —Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
K D —Keith's Drama
K. P —Kāvyaprakāsha (Chandorkar)
M A.—or Mālvikā A. Mālvikāgnimitra
M K.—Mrichhakatika
M M.—Mālati-Madhao
M V.—Mahāvīracharita
Nāg —Nāgānanda
P D —Priyadarshikā
Pratidnya—Pratidnyā-Yaugandharāyana
P R —Pancharātra, T V Series
R V —Rigveda
R M —Rādhāmādhao-Vilās-Champu. Rājwade
Rat.—Ratnāvali
R T —Rajatarangini
Sāk—Shākuntala
S D —Sāhityadarpana Kane)
S B. E —Sacred Books of the East series
S V or Swapna —Swapna Vāsavadatta, T. V Series

S. V.—Samaveda
T. V—Trivendrum Series (Ganapāti Shastri)
U R—Uttararāmacharita
V. U—Vikramorvashiyam
Veni—Venishamhāra
Y. R—Yajurveda

In addition to the above-mentioned books, the following ones are also consulted.

Indian Studies, Weber
Bhandarkar Com. Vol.
Oriental Conferences proceedings
Sylvan Levi-Indian Theatre
Hindu Theatre, Wilson
Modern Review numbers
Vividha-Dnyāna-Vistāra
Vishwa-Bhārati
Historical Quarterly.

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Sanskrit Drama & Dramatists

(THEIR CHRONOLOGY, MIND AND ART)

CHAPTER I.

The Origin of Sanskrit Drama

DRAMA is essentially a social form of art, having a two-fold function to discharge Though to educate intellectually, morally, socially and spiritually is its premier function or aim, it cannot be considered as of greater human importance than its other function which is the delight and joy consequent upon the enjoyment of any art Drama presents a composite or cumulative organization of all fine arts that rouse and raise the man above the rest of creation, forcing him to detach himself from the trivial things of daily existence and to concentrate his mind and senses on the themes and characters presented in it The principal arts that combine to make the drama effective and impressive are poetry, music and dance by means of which even the primitive man sought amusement. The primitive man had a drama-like pastime of his own, though crude and unpolished, and though it did not possess any of the contrivances producing the most histrionic effects as in the case of the full-fledged drama of the present times.

The classical sanskrit drama is not an upshot of a moment It has attained to its present form by a process of gradual growth starting from the crude pastime of the primitive Aryans, and traversing a long range of time from the hoary antiquities of the Arctic region It is, therefore, no wonder that the origin of Sanskrit Drama owing to its passage from such a staggering antiquity should be shrouded in mystery of time and should consequently have given rise to diverse attempts on the part of scholars The primitive Aryans though savage and barbarous had their ways of amusement, such for instance as the dance—the mother of all arts, with its lusty and vigorous movements of the body, accompanied by the ballads or bardic songs sung with keeping time and in concert The way in which they were sung. gave them a force of dialogue and a consequent dramatic touch. The most ancient record of the Aryans—historical and poetic—the Rigveda contains fifteen of such songs in one mandal or other giving either lively disputes or debates between rival deities regarding their power It is in these dialogue hymns of the Rigveda. Samvadsuktas as they are called, that the origin of the sanskrit classical drama is traced There is conversation in them but underneath it, the action moves by exhibiting passions, motives and feelings of the speakers in a natural, easy, vivid, interesting and therefore dramatic way. In a certain hymn (I, 165) there is a dispute between Indra and Maruts—a group of deities. ' This dialogue was repeated at sacrifices in honour of the Maruts or that possibly it was acted by two parties, one representing Indra the other the Maruts and their followers [1] The same mandala contains reference to maidens " who deck in splended raiment, dance

1 MaxMuller S B E XXXIII P 182

and attract lovers" The famous historical dialogue between Vishvāmitra and the rivers is found in the third book The fourth book, besides giving a dialogue between Indra and Varuna gives an instance of confused dialogue in which three parties Indra, Aditi and Vāmdeo take part. Vasishtha is talking with his sons in a certain hymn in the seventh book. The tenth and the last book contains some of the note-worthy dialogues. The lively debate between Sarma and the Panis, the conjugal coaxing that Yami practises with her brother Yama, and the more known anecdote of Purūravas and Urvashi point out unmistakable germs of dramatic element in them [1] Regarding these hymns, be it remembered, that though they pertain to deities of the Vedic pantheon still, they are more of secular charactar than of religious one and this accounts for their disappearance in the younger Veda that is not throughly ritualistic in contents and application Their absence does not therefore indicate the total discontinuance of the efforts at dramatics on the part of those people

These hymns, according to Maxmuller, were recited and represented after the completion of a ritual Windisch detected similarities in them with old Irish songs and maintained that the riks must have been alternated with prose passages thrust in for the sake of exegencies and therefore impermanent. The connecting links were supplied by a class of rhapsodists called Granthikas, according to Pischel who interpreted the word etymologically. Such alternations of verses and the elucidating prose passages were noticed in the legend of Shunahshepa given in the Aitareya Brāhman (vii 13) and in some stories of Budhistic Jātakas by Oldenberg who put forth a novel theory of

1 I 99 R V I 92' 165, III 33, IV 18, 42, VII 33, X 10, 95 &c.

Akhyān type of literature from which he himself had to retrace owing to defective reasoning in parallelism with Pāli Jātakas which is only accidental and in the loss of prose passages which is incomprehensible when not a syllable of the sacred literature was allowed to be either blurred or slurred over Besides the rise of Granthikas or pathakas is quite of a late date—perhaps post-Brahmanic or post-epic, when legendary or folk-lore type of literature came into being. There are other scholars like Shroeder[1] Winternitz Hertel who being either weighed under some ethnological considerations or those of christian mystery plays, saw cult-dramas in the dialogue hymns and set them down as the antecedents of the present yātrās and lilās of the Krishna-Vishnu or Rudra-Shiva cults The Suparnādhyaya, a hymn both curious and late is a full fledged mystery according to Hertel

The simplicity of the devotion of the Rigveda gave place to the complexity of the sacerdotalism of the younger Vedas and along with that the dramatics of the time assumed an aspect ritual in the sense that the worship and the purchase of the soma were involved in it to some extent The peroration of a sacrifice was celebrated by a representation in which the priests of the sacrifice played the rōles of different deities The Vājasneyi Samhitā of the White Yajurveda makes mention of Sailusa—an actor The Sāmveda is another redaction of the Rigveda made expressly for putting the riks to tune and therefore "shows that the art of music had been fully developed by the Vedic age[2]" Along with songs the Samveda refers to ceremonial dances in which respect it is corroborated by the Atharvveda that says "Men dance and sing to music-

1 Mysterium and mimus in Rigveda
2 Sylvan Levi Theatre 307

to the sound of drum[1] Music, song and dance—the three main constituents of drama and closely related to one another from ethnological point of view seem to be very much developed in the Vedic period.

The amusements of the Brahman period are characteristically ritual. The same abusive talk of Yama and Yami or Sarma and Panis gets reflected though tinged with ritual aspect. in the Mahāvrat[2] festival in which a Vaishya of white colour falls out with a shūdra of black colour for a piece of round white skin. It also contains information about a quarrel and the consequent abusive language indulged in by a Brahmin and a girl of loose morals The festival is performed at the winter solstice and hence is believed to have a fertility significance[3]. The Kausitaki Brāhman recognises the prevalence of dance, song and music In the same Mahāvrat, maidens dance round the fire as a spell to bring down rain—a practice which is continued even to this day The matrons dance even now in marriage ceremony. The indulgence in dance, song, music, abusive conversation and blows even in religious festivals or rituals presuppose their free prevalence in popular mimes of the time[4] The rarity of references to such vulgarities shows the sparing use made by the austere sages in the puritan atmosphere of the ritual This naive and vulgar aspect of the popular festival must have depreciated its value in the opinion of the ancient seers who in later literature of sutras and shāstras exhort the young snātakas to ward them off from the practic of silpa—dance, song and instrumental music[5]

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1 A V XII 141 2 Sakhayana Aranyaka

3 Ibid Kieth

4 Hillebrandt and Konow—Indian Drama 42

5 Grihyasutra II 73 Paraskara •

The same deprecatory attitude towards drama continues up to the time of the Epics—Mahābhārata in which Draupadi is compared with Sailushi[1] which signifies actress—and Rāmāyana in which Sitā reproaches her husband for having given her over to others as a Sailusha gives over his wife, anb Sailusha is a "man who is a Jāyājivi—living on the prostitution of his wife," according to the commentator It is this attitude that accounts for the little attention at the hands of Upanishadic, sutra or smriti writers who were occupied with themes at once metaphysical and philosophical

By the time of the sūtra period, the literature or the practice of dramatics religious or secular, latent or patent must have grown in bulk and must have created the necessity of canonizing them. Two of such attempts are noticed by Pānini[1] when he refers Shilālin and Krishāsva in connection with the formation of their names assumed by their followers. The passage runs thus —

पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां । भिक्षुनटसूत्रयो शैलालिनो नटा ॥ 4-3-110

कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनि । कृशाश्विनो नटा ॥ 4-3-111

Levy sees in the aphorisms of Krishāshwa and Sailāli first fruits of the labours of ancient Indian dramatic theoreticians,[2] but owing to the quaintness of names sees in them ironical appelations of Krishashva, the Indo-Iranian hero having meagre horses and Shilāli having got stones for his bed"

The scattered shreds of Sanskrit drama unite and present a full-fledged drama at the time of Patanjali[3] who while discussing the use of the imperfect tense of action

1 Virat parvan 17, 43 Ramayana II, 30, 8

2 Levi Theatre 300

3 The date of Patanjali (140 A D)

which a person has himself witnessed, refers to two events viz, "the slaying of Kamsa and the binding of Bali" staged by two parties of professional actors who had dyed their faces in some colour.

ये तावदेते शोभनिका नामैते प्रत्यक्षम् कंसं घातयन्ति प्रत्यक्षम् बलिं बन्धयन्ति इति चित्रेषु कथम्? चित्रेषु अपि उद्गूर्णा निपातिताश्च प्रहारा दृश्यन्ते कंसकर्षण्यश्च । ग्रंथिकेषु कथम्? यत्र शब्दगडुमात्रम् लक्ष्यते तेऽपि हि तेषा उत्पत्तिप्रभृत्या विनाशात् वृद्धिर्व्याचक्षाणा सतो बुद्धिविषयान् प्रकाशयन्ति । अतश्च सतो व्यामिश्रा हि दृश्यन्ते। केचित् कंसभक्ता भवन्ति केचित् वसुदेव-भक्ता । वर्णान्यत्व खल्वपि पुष्यन्ति। केचित् कालमुखा भवन्ति केचित् रक्तमुखा ।

The passage is drawn on in extenso on account of its importance It mentions three kinds of representations that were current in times of Patanjali, one given by human actors who performed the whole scene by assuming the roles of characters to make the story more vivid and impressive, the other, by means of paintings or picture-scrolls and the third by a set of professional reciters—granthikas or kathaks It also shows that the material for representation was taken from the fountain-head of the folk-lore or epic-lore which can be traced back to the Brahmanic times or even before Geneelogical ballads and fables of ancient Bharats, Sudāsas, Tritsus, half historical, half mythical gathas were sung aloud at the end of long sacrificial sessions even before the Rāmāyan and the Mahābhārat There were rhapsdists and rhapsodists before Vyās and Vālmiki, before Kusha and Lava This gatha literature from Vedic time downwards, of which the two epics from the most important connecting links is a rich mine which is often explored

and laid under by all later writers—sanskrit or prakrit, sacred or profane

The supposition that the representations referred to in the above passage were only manual acts not accompanied by speech, that they were mere dumb shows[1] would defeat the very purpose for which they were intended. It is impossible that such strongly emotional mannual acts would be both adequately expressive and impressive without human accent On the strength of a reading of a certain manuscript to the effect that the followers of Krishna are said to have painted their faces red, while those of Kamsa painted black and that the red colour of Krishna's followers then proclaim him as the genius of summer who overcomes the darkness of the winter", Kieth says "It is difficult not to see in the Kamsavadh at the hands of Krishna the refined version of an older vegetation ritual in which the representative of the out-worn spirit of vegetation is destroyed "[2] He traces it back to its primitive form in his favourite theme, the Mahāvrata ritual and establishes the fact that the origin of Sanskrit drama has got its ultimate source in vegetation ritual and thereby religion Every ritual is celebrated in strict religious piety and comes in course of time to be clothed in allegorical significance by the simple credulence of the later followers A secular festival even on account of extreme popularity is admitted into pious religious fold and a similar allegorical significance clusters round it That must have been the case with Kieth's Mahāvrat ceremony as Hillebrandt rightly observes on the strength of the indecorum in the passage-at-arms between the Brahmacharin and the girl or between the Vaishya and the Sudra

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1 Sanskrit Drama Kieth
2 Sanskrit Drama Kieth

In addition to the evidence adduced above, Patanjali gives Sutras referring to the proverbial hunger of the actors[1].

All the redactions of Mahābhārat[2] were completed by the time of Patanjali and the evidence that it offers corroborates what Patanjali says regarding the full-fledged drama of the time Harivamsa, a supplement to the Mahabharat says that Kamsavadha, Pralambvadha and Chānūramardana were performed by Apsaras as and after that Nārada amused the audience by presenting mimicry by imitating Satyabhāma, Krishna, Arjuna and Baldeva. The other sister-epic Rāmāyana mentions Nata Nartak—actors, dancers and the sāmāj[3] the audience or the popular festivals and controverts the theory of the dumb-show by mentioning Vyāmishraka[4] which according to the commentator, means a play in which both the Sanskrit and Prakrit were employed

The secular aspect of the Sanskrit drama is manifest from the great fondness the Budhists had for fine arts—painting, sculpture and drama and Budhists were no admirers of Hindu religion and ritual Lord Budha exhorts one who had taken orders "to gaze on the drama of the Great Law." The knowledge of the drama is included among the Budha's accomplishments mentioned in the Lalit Vistār. Dramas were performed on occasions of ceremonies according to Mahāvamsa An actual performance of a Budha nātak given before the king of

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1 नटस्य शृणोति ग्रन्थिकस्य शृणोति I.4, 29. अगारान्तात्. 2, 4, 77. नटस्य भुक्तम् II, 3, 67, नटमाधान III 2, 127.

2 Hopkins Epic 400-200 A D and C V Vaidya

3 II 67, 1[illegible]

4 II 1, 23

Sobhāvati referred to in the Avadānasataka translated into Chinese in 300 A. D gives a very remote antiquity to the drama A Deccanese actor represented the life of Budha before the king Bimbisāra The Sitābenga cave on the Ramgad hill in Chhota Nagpur takes the antiquity of the drama still further back to 300 B C by giving the signs of grove used as a theatre ' where poetry was recited, love songs were sung and theatrical performances were shown "[1] Samājas were there at the time of the epics and Ashoka who has condemned them in his edicts on account of the animal-fights that were shown in them. This gets support from the specimens of full-fledged dramas of Bhāsa published in the T V series

The two independent currents of the popular pastimes secular and religious gathic and hymnic, patrician and plebian, united and by the interaction of the mutual influence produced the Sanskrit Drama The occasion of presentation was of course the ritual ceremony such as the Ashwamedha or the Pitrimedha and the material that was availed of, came from the old lore—saga epic or gatha—that was floating on the lips of society in the form of ballads and songs that became drama as soon as their recitation was accompanied by mimic gestures The old gathas–sagas or legends of epic nature were loudly recited in public by professional rhapsodists—kathaks, pathaks or granthiks associating and dividing to themselves the roles and thus produced the drama There was gatha lore even before the redaction of the epic as instanced by the Brahmanic and pre-brahmanic sagas of Shunashepa in Aitareye Brahmana, of Pururavas and Urvashi in the Shatapath, of Nachiketa and Yama in the Upanishadas, of Savitri, of

1 Bloch

Udayana, or Jataks of Pali Though most of them were merely isolated pieces still their epic character is quite clear[1] The famous warriors of the epic—Shantanu, Krishna, Arjuna and others find mention in the pre-epic literature, and lead us to suppose that the cults of Krishna, Shiva, Vishnu, Rama must have influenced the mind of the people even before their deification in the epics. The use of Sanskrit language, the mixture of prose and poetry, the Krishna worship and the linear simplicity of the recitation of the gatha-samhitā are the characteristics both secular and religious The Vidushaka of the drama is inexplicable from the religious point of view. The language he speaks and the mirth that is produced at his cost in spite of his Brahmanic birth indicate that this figure must not have been an outcome of religious Brahmanic pastime but have been taken from the popular mime and must have been the descendant of the Brahmacharin that falls out with the hatera of the Mahāvrata or of the Vrishakapi of Rg X 86 The languages, Sanskrit or Prākrit were used according to the status of the characters because they were current as the lip-languages and not as the book-languages of the people. Both Sanskrit and Prakrit had yet to be fossilized into literary forms which they did after a pretty long time—the former after 400 B C and the latter after 400 A. D roughly.

Some scholars take a clue from such words as Panchālika, Putrikā, Puttali Duhitrikā—all meaning puppets made of wood and attribute the origin of the drama to the dumb puppet-shows, the favourite pastime of the people "The simple puppet-show is everywhere the most ancient form of dramatic representation and it was so in India[2]"

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1 Oldenberg Z G Prosa

2 Pischel. Home of the puppet-play P S

The prototype of the Sūtradhāra who pulls the threads behind the puppets and thus moves them is found in the drama and it is he who is responsible for weaving the different threads of the plot-texture. The Indian Drama is therefore a gradual evolution of the puppet-play strictly a secular past-time as is borne out by the fact that a damsel is introduced in Brihatkatha as the daughter of the asura Maya using a puppet and that a talking puppet impersonating Sita is actually introduced by Rajshekhara in his Bal Ramayana Side by side with the puppet-play there was in ancient time another pastime—the shadow-play instances of which are supplied by later writers, by the shadow-Sita in the U R. and by shadow-Urvashi in V U Even Vidushaka is associated with these dumb-shows as a standing character "The Shaubhikas of Mahabhashya were persons who explained matters to the audience to suppliment either dumb-actors or shadow figures[1]"

This theory is opposed by Hillebrandt according to whom the puppet or shadow-play is an imitation of drama which again is nothing but an imitation of human life The Sutradhara of the drama has nothing to do with the threads but has mainly to measure and lay out the land for the theatre and secondarily and figuratively to measure the threads of the plot " The drama as comedy is a national expression of man's primitive life of pleasure and appreciation of humour and wit and it cannot therefore wait to be evolved from the puppet or shadow-shows

The old popular mime that was staged under the auspices of the ritual and that had got its body and perhaps its spirit from the old gatha literature, received

1 Luders

further impetus when the whole floating mass was put together in the epic in such a way as it could very well be laid under and represented. The epics with all the legends and myths, with their intrinsic and inherent dramatic element gave rise to many other attempts on the part of reciters either to expound or to represent the stories in the form of Kirtans or Purānas which were a sort of monologues. As the cults of Krishna Rama and other divine incarnations spread their influence, the monologues were changed to dialogues or polylogues or processions called Yatras or Lilās in the north or Lalits—and Gondhals—dramatic performances in Maharashtra. On the score of their histrionic aspect the yatras of the north and the Lalits and the Gondhals are wrongly said to have originated and influenced[1] the Sanskrit Drama while reverse is the case The Drama had already attained to its full form at the time of Bhāsa and Ashwaghosa and Patanjali It is the drama therefore that gave rise to these mimic dramatic performances which are certainly post epic efforts The Gondhal of Mahārashtra comes still later It could not have been there before Maharashtra was colonized by the Mahārajiks and Nagas of the North and Maratha nation and language were evolved which are dated approximately at 400 A. D.[2] The Gondhal therefore is an imitation of the Kirtan of Brahmins administered and altered according to the needs of the people in the lower strata, and perhaps presents both the Aryan and non-Aryan elements.

The theory put forward by Windisch and Hermann Reich which adduces Greek origin to the Sanskrit Drama is based on wrong assumption The Mrichhakatika which

1 Dr Belwalkar, D Q
2 V K Rajwade—R, M. Champu

they both have taken to be the oldest and the typical Indian drama and which forms the basis of their theory has been conclusively proved to be an enlarged and improved edition of an earlier play Chārudatta[1] and available upto four acts written by Bhās who lived certainly prior to the influence of the tornado of the Macedonian invasion Besides borrowal is one thing and influence is quite another thing The indegenous Indian drama might have come under a strong influence of the Greek plays on account of the intellectual contact especially in the period of Menander's conquest or which even prior to that was aided by the brisk exchange of trade between Alexandria and Ujjain through the port of Baryagaza The hords of the tornado of the Greek invansion and the subsequent settlements of them on the Indus and the trans-Indus province might have erected theatres for staging the Attic comedies that might have influenced and given an impetus to the Indian drama that had sprung into being before the advent of the Greeks It is within easy comprehension to attribute quite independent origins to both the dramas Similar thoughts have often occured quite independently to different persons. The drama when once originated will undergo similar development and the scenic requirements for it will also be identical in most countries. The divisions of the play into five acts, the entry and exit of all actors, the asides, the scenic conventions are but superficial similarities and could very well have been developed independently in both the countries

These scholars however ingenious, scholarly and scientific their researches may be, start with certain prepossessions under which they labour so much that they

1 Belwalkar M K and Ch

try to bring forward to a later date the antiquity of every thing Indian and trace its origin in some exotic civilization like that of Greece which according to them is the mother of every thing Western. Hellenism is sought to be traced in language, society, religion and even philosophy of India. The Bhagavadgita has not escaped from being traced to Hellenic influence. As the Hindu scholars are exhorted by them to be free from the influence of tradition which colours their views, so these scholars also require to be told to be free from the bias of Hellenic influence.

The word Yavanika or Javanika is taken to mean "Gracian cloth" though the use of the curtain by the Greeks is much questioned. The pati ro apati is said "to be a persian tapestry brought to India by Greek ships and merchants". The introduction of yavanis—Greek maidens—is due to the fondness of Indian princes for their fascinating looks. The Vidushak, though Brahmin by birth, is said to be the imitation of the confidential slave of the Greeks, and Vita, of the Greek Parasite. Though the action in most of the Sanskrit dramas traverses a long period of a number of years and though it is a complex texture of a number of threads, still unity of both time and action is sought in them. The divisions of Sanskrit drama rest on an analysis of the action and though such divisions are not recorded in the Greek drama still the acts are said to be the prototypes of the acts of the Greek drama. The characters of one are high, middle and low while those of the other are ideal, real and inferior. The similarity of episodes is also pointed out. The ring in Shāk and Malvikā, the seal in the Rām and the Mudrā R., the jewel in the Nag and V. U., the garland in M. R. and the scented garment in the the M. K. are

dramatic contrivances most pleasantly devised and designed; still attempts are made to show the debt of fancy coming from Greece. The theory of greek origin is too full of prejudices to command our aceptance in face of the strong proof advanced by Pātanjali against it At the most it can be said with Weber that the Sanskrit drama may have received an impetus by the representation of the Greek plays at the courts of the kings in Baktria, the Punjab and Gujrath.[1]

The Sanskrit drama which combined in it both the religious and the secular elements and which in its course of development came within the sphere of influence of the Greek plays, must also have come under the influence of the Kshatrap rulers of Mālva and Muttura It could not have been originated either in Ujjain—Malva or in Saursena-Mathura The drama which took its manner from the Vedic dialogues and its matter from the epic-saga-lore and characters from such festivals as the Mahāvrat and which was canonized by Krishashva and Shilali could not have waited to take its life from the Kshatrap rulers though under whose auspices the Sanskrit language was secularised as is maintained by Levi on the strength of the language of the earliest inscription But there is a good deal of material against this In the first place the Kshatraps who are wrongly identified with satraps were men of indegenous Hindu extract and had not a drop of foreign blood running in their veins They revived every thing that was ancient and traditional, religious and lingiustic and must have revived the Sanskrit language which had perhaps allen into a little disuetude. The same patronising attitude towards the Sanskrit language is noticed in the inscription of

1 Indian studies Web-- `

Ushavdat (124 A D) and in the still earlier inscription of the Sunga dynasty The champion of the vernacular Ashwaghosha who was inspired perhaps with the desire of handling Sanskrit in as fascile a way as of the orthodox Brahmins could accept it as the vehicle for his drama The use of a particular language in a drama is generally in accordance with the actual state of things and though it was the case with the Sanskrit drama at some period of its development, still the use of different prākrit languages in the later dramas must be attributed to literary purposes rather than to any attempt to imitate the speech of the day On the same ground can be disproved the theory of Konow who accepts Muttura and not Ujjain as the centre of the origin of the Sanskrit drama on the basis of saurseni being the normal prose tongue in the fragments of the dramas of Ashwaghosha and in the dramas of Bhāsa The support which Levi takes from a passage of Bharat's work on dramaturgy is equally insecure He says that the terms 'Swamin' Sugrhitnaman, Bhadramukha, Rāshtriya are borrowed by Bharat from the actual state of things being appellations in force in official etiquette in the Kshatrap court. The passage in question is in the first place corrupt and secondly nothing more is gained by this similarity which is too flimsy to warrant an inference regarding the origin of the drama. It can at best be said that the drama received further impetus and revival under the patronage of the Kshatrap kings of both Ujjain and Muttura.

All the theories that have been advanced by several eminent orientalists regarding the origin of the Sanskrit drama, however plausible, ingenious and scholarly they may be, unfortunately have not got in them the strength of tradition and consequently are not able to stand. Inter-

pretation is very scarcely attempted with regard to tradition which always builds a huge structure on simple truth The Sanskrit drama on account of its origin being buried under hoary antiquities and its long life of growth, came to be clustered round by tradition. In the absence of complete dramatic works as such, the ancient writers did not possess that historical or chronological sense to trace the evolution of the theatre by means of the direct or indirect evidence of Indian literature Though the Samhitās, the Brāhmans, the epics and the grammatical works furnish positive evidence about the origin and the condition of the theatre, about the forms of representation and dramatic art and thus present scattered constituent elements which, grouped together may evolve a drama, still at the time of Bharat, the famous writer on dramatics, blind credulence clustered round the tr th and buried it down from the view of persons. Bharat, the celebrated author of Nātyashāstra possessed a genius of the same type, though not of the same magnitude, as that of Vyās of the epic fame or Manu of the Smriti fame There was always a mass of material floating over the society mastered by scholars orally but no attempt was made to systematise and organise the whole bulk. It was only a Vyās or a Manu who with his comprehensive vision could take a complete view and could restore order in the chaotic form of literature The various incidents, ancedotes, experiences, traditions, histories that all have been coglomerated in the famous epic were so many disjoinied feathers flying anywhere according to the force of circumstances Vyās caught hold of them and put them together supplying at the same time the soul of unity which that disjointed stuff required. In the case of Manu again, the several canons

people It was condemned very severely by the custodians of moral code. The terms such as Rūpajīvī and Jāyājīvī—"living on their charms or on the charms of their wives" are sufficiently condemnatory In Jain works such as the Ayrangsutta and Rajprashniya there are condemnatory remarks on such ideal enjoyments as arts akin to the drama Bharat had to widen this narrow angle of vision the arms of which hemmed in this fine art and he did it taking advantage of the henotheistic tendency of the writers of the age Every writer maintained that his subject was the best of all, that it emanated from the mouth of Brahman and that it had the vedic tradition, that it could secure for the man all this-worldly and other-worldly ends It is this henotheistic tendency that has led Bharat to say that of the chief constituents of the drama the element of recitation was taken from the Rigveda, song from the Sāmveda, mimetic art from the Yajurveda and sentiments from the Atharveda

The traditional view about the origin of Sanskrit drama is given by Bharat in his Nātyashāstra in the following way 'When Brahma was a sage in the Krita age and when Vaivasvata Manu was preparing for the Treta Age, when popular morality is in the grasp of greed and of desire and the world is deluded by envy, by resentment and by weal and woe, when the Devās, Dānavās, Gandharvās, Yaksās, Rāksās, Mahorgās, and the Lokpālās entered upon Jambudwipa then Indra and other Devas said to Brahma "We desire a pastime to be seen and heard. This matter of the four Vedas should not be heard by the Sudras, pray therefore, shape another and fifth Veda for all the castes"

Saying to them, "So let it be" and turning away from Indra, He who knows the essence of every matter

seated in yoga posture called to his mind the four Vedas, thinking 'Let me make a fifth Veda to be called Nātya (Drama) combined with epic story tending to virtue wealth, (pleasure and spiritual freedom) yielding fame—a concise instruction, setting forth all the events of the world about to be, containing the significance of every scripture and forwarding every art Thus recalling all the Vedas, the Blessed Brahma framed the Nātya Veda from the several parts of the four Vedas as desired!"[1]

The first exponent of this cumulation of the differant materials or a practical representation was a play named Amritmanthan—the churning for nectar—which was staged by Nārada and others at the festival of Indradhwaj. The stage was presided over and furnished by many deities. The first play the theme of which was about the fight between the Suras and the Asuras was running its course when all of a sudden some hindrances appeared and the Sutra-dhāra fainted. The Asuras were dissatisfied because the drama depicted their own defeat. They were, however, calmed down by the god who was thereafter named जर्जर Then the theatre came to be protected by deities not a nook being left without any deity presiding over it, the centre of it being occupied by the father of the science of dramaturgy. At some other play, it is said that the sons and disciples of Bharatmuni the actors who in a comic vein made fun of some holy sage, were cursed in consequence, with the loss of their status which, thereafter came to be on a par with the Sudras King Nahusa was the first man to establish a theatre on earth"

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1 Coomaraswamy's translation—Mirror of Gesture

Bharat thus considered first the formation or the creation of the science of dramaturgy followed by the discussion of two other points, namely, the prevention of the obstructions and the protection of the theatre There were four Vedas and owing to the purity and reverence in which they were held, the fourth class of the Hindu caste-system was debarred from a study of them It was for their interest that a fifth additional Veda was fashioned which was called the नाट्यवेद [1]

The Nātyaveda, therefore, according to tradition contains the isolation and the elaboration of certain specific features of the already existing four Vedas—recitation from the Rigveda, music from the Sāmveda, the gestures from the Yajurveda and the emotions from the Atharvaveda Both the Gandharvas and the Apsaras took part in the play. The social status of the actors was very low. The first play was staged on the occasion of a religious festival in honour of Indra's banner the staff of which was seized by Indra to beat off the Asuras who had risen in wrath and which thenceforward came to be styled as जर्जर and to be used as a protection at the beginning of the drama. This flag—staff which was decorated with flowers and buntings and the salutation offered to it at the preliminaries of the drama have given rise to a wrong notion with some scholars who connect it with the ceremonies of bringing in the May-pole from the woods supported by the comparison made by Growse of the Holi and the May-day rites

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1 न च वेदव्यवहारोऽयं संश्राव्यः शूद्रजातिषु ।
तस्मात्सृज अपरं वेदं पञ्चमं सार्ववर्णिकम् ॥ नाट्यशास्त्र १.

Another tradition tells us that it was Brahmadeva who put together the science of singing or music from the Sāmveda and taught it to his five disciples—भरत, नारद, रंभा, हुहू, तुंबरु, who were excultant on learning it and gave an examination in it before Mahadeo who was a great appreciator. These five disciples wrote five Samhitas. The Bharat Samhita came to this world, that of रंभा went to heaven, those of Tumburu and Huhú went to the nether region Bharat started the dramatics, Narada started the instrumental or the stringed music and Rambhā started dancing

These are traditions no doubt but they should never be discarded because they are traditions, but should rather be availed of for the right and rational interpretation because they contain the opinion and doctrines of the people, accumulated from times immemorial that load it with the subterfuge of blind, unscientific and irrational superstition The origin of the fine arts was completely lost sight of, hidden so much away in the dim distance that it came to be associated with the divine fountain head who is the sourse of all that is good. These traditions reveal among many others, the following things regarding the Sanskrit drama —

(1) That the origin of dramatics was buried in dim, hoary antiquity and was beyond the ken of even advanced people. Being a social form of art, it must grow with the society,

(2) that it was Bharat who put together all the canons and evolved his Nātyashāstra on the basis of sutras already existing,

(3) that the material for representation was taken from the epic and the pre epic literature—the exploits of Suras against the Asuras,

(4) That the occasion selected for representation was some religious festival like the banner festival,

(5) that the Gandharvas and the Apsaras—men and women played the different roles ,

(6) That the art of dramatics being perhaps much indulged in by the commonality was not held in gracious looks by the austere Brahmins. that the social status of the actors was very low—on par with that of the Sudras,

(7) that the fun was sought at the cost of some holy sage and consequently of Brahmins,—which must have given rise to the funny character of Vidushaka,

(8) that the people had begun to appreciate the value of this social though rigorous and specific literary art as being the source of all enjoyment, counsel in matters of sentiment, mood and rite ,

(9) that attempts were made to rehabilitate the degraded art by connecting its constituents with the most sacred heritage of the people. namely the Vedas ,

(10) That the singing, dancing, and drama were inseparably connected and had something divine in them, that they all emanated from some etherial beings

The following verses may be read in connection with the traditions.

नानाभावोपसम्पन्नं । नानावस्थान्तरात्मकम् ।

लोकवृत्तानुकरणं । नाट्यमेतन्मयाकृतम् ॥

उत्तमाधममध्यानां । नराणां कर्मसंश्रयम् ॥

हितोपदेशजननं । धृतिक्रीडासुखादिकृत् ॥

दुःखार्तानां श्रमार्तानां । शोकार्तानां तपस्विनाम्
विश्रान्तिजननं काले । नाट्यमेतन्मया कृतम् ॥

भ. ना.

पूर्वं कृतयुगे विप्रा वृत्ते स्वायम्भुवेऽन्तरे ।
त्रेतायुगेऽथ सम्प्राप्ते मनोर्वैवस्वतस्य तु ॥ ८ ॥
ग्राम्यधर्मप्रवृत्ते तु कामलोभवशं गते ।
ईर्ष्याक्रोधादिसंमूढे लोके सुखितदुःखिते ॥ ९ ॥
देवदानवगन्धर्वयक्षरक्षोमहोरगैः ।
जम्बूद्वीपे समाक्रान्ते लोकपालप्रतिष्ठिते ॥ १० ॥
महेन्द्रप्रमुखैर्देवैरुक्तः किल पितामहः ।
क्रीडनीयकमिच्छामो दृश्यं श्रव्यं च यद्भवेत् ॥ ११ ॥
न वेदव्यवहारोऽयं संश्राव्यः शूद्रजातिषु ।
तस्मात्सृजापरं वेदं पञ्चमं सार्ववर्णिकम् ॥ १२ ॥
नाट्याख्यं पञ्चमं वेदं सेतिहासं करोम्यहम् ॥ १५ ॥
जग्राह पाठ्यमृग्वेदात्सामभ्यो गीतमेव च ।
यजुर्वेदादभिनयान्रसानाथर्वणादपि ॥ १७ ॥

नाट्यशास्त्र १ अध्याय.

CHAPTER II

The mould of Sanskrit drama

Bharat was the first accredited promulgator of dramatic thought. There were Nātyasutra writers like Krishāswa and Shilāli and dramatists like Bhāsa, Shudraka and Ashwaghosha Shāradātanaya a writer on rhetorics belonging to the 12th or 13th century, refers to one Subandhu,—a pre-Bharat writer on dramatics He in his भावप्रकाश says, ' Subandhu enumerates five divisions of Nātakas पुर्ण, प्रशान्त, भास्वर, ललित, समग्र This Subandhu lived in the court of the Mouryan sovereign Bindusāra, the son and the successor of Chandragupta and served him also as minister. Subandhu was first imprisoned by Bindusāra and later on released after his binding himself to his sovereign's heart by writing the story of Vatsaraj, viz—वासवदत्तानाट्यधार. Even so early as the period of the Mouryan emperors Chandragupta and Bindusāra, Sanskrit drama was in a very highly developed stage and ministers were engaged not only in writing dramas but also in taking part in their representation This Subandhu is of course different from his name-sake, the author of the prose romance which came to be written in the period of the decline of the Gupta kings

All the same it has to be admitted that there is no work on dramatics which can be definitely set down as having been written before Bharat Bharat lived in the 3rd or 4th century after Christ Levi relies upon the royal titles Swami, Sugrihitanāman, Bhadramukha, Rāshtriya

which are simultaneously found in the Nātyashastra of Bharat and in the inscriptions of Rudradāman and Rudrasen, two rulers of Kshatrap dynasty of Gujarath and says that Bharat must have flourished under the warm patronage of those rulers, that is, in 200 A. D. Harprasād Sastri also puts him there, while MacDonnel takes him to a later date (700 A. D.). But these dates refer to the extant work Nātyashāstra and its author. The name of Bharat as the prime dramatist was already before that since the plays of Bhāsa that point out a markedly wide divergence of technique from the one mentioned in the Nātyashāstra, make mention of Bharat and his epilogue. The dramatics when once set high and infused with the divinity in a henotheistic spirit by Bharat received attention from the writers of Purānas Agnipurāna—a work of 700 A. D. on account of its debt to Amarkosha gives a full treatment Dhananjaya Mammata, Vishwanath and a horde of others have treated the subject in all its aspects and have evolved from it the aesthetics and the psychology of sentiments

According to the Hindu notions of aesthetics, a dramatist does not differ very much from a poet. A dramatist has to be a poet first and a dramatist afterwards. The requirements and the equipment that a dramatist has to set up are the same as those of a poet He must have the प्रतिभा or the power of imagination in an unlimited quality by which he can work wondious deeds (अपूर्ववस्तुनिर्माणक्षमा प्रज्ञा) or by which he can make novel lustrous revelation (नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रज्ञा) or by which he can give descriptions par excellence (वर्णनानिपुणत्व) In short, he is the god creator of the universe of poetics and as such can subject the world to any transformations that he pleases.

अपारे काव्यसंसारे कविरेव प्रजापति
यथास्मै रोचते विश्वं तथेदं परिवर्तते ॥ ध्वन्यालोक ३२२

In addition to this power of alchemy he must possess व्युत्पत्ति—word-knowledge and अभ्यास—constant practice

The purpose of writing a drama is thus set forth by Bharat in the following verse

दु खार्तानां श्रमार्तानां शोकार्तानां तपस्विनाम्
विश्रान्तिजननं काले नाट्यमेतन्मया कृतम्

He also says to the effect "I made this play as following the movements of the world whether in work or play, profit peace. laughter, battle lust or slaughter yielding the fruit of righteousness to those who follow the moral law, pleasure to those who follow best, a restraint for the unruly, a discipline for the followers of a rule, creating a vigour in the impotant, zeal in the warriors, wisdom in the ignorant, learning in scholars, affording sports to kings, endurance to the sorrow-stricken, profit to those who seek advantage, courage to the broken—willed It affords excellent counsel, pastime weal and all else It is a pastime a source of wit and humour. the soul of joy and delight The ultimate aim is the supreme bliss which is said to be सद्यःप्रयोजनमौलिभूत आनंद To the readers, it gives solace, instructions in knowledge, of religin morality and philosophy, proficiency in the arts and way of the world To the dramatist it brings fame and wealth (काव्यं यशसे अर्थकृते) One of the aims of the sanskrit dramatists appears to be the revival of the epic-religion by means of renewing the memories of the people by rehabilitating the characters of the epic and strengthing the belief of the people The drama is thus a source

of religious instruction The philosophers like Shankar, the sacerdotalists like Kumārila, the Soverigns like the Guptas were doing work in great earnestness to withstand the onward march of the heretic religions-Budhism and Jainism The beliefs in the potency of sacrifice, the karma and the transmigration theories were at stake and were restored by learned erudite exegetic expositions by philosophers and Mimansakas. The poets and the dramatists also added their mite to the general fight against them Theirs was an appeal to heart rather than to the head

The dramatic poets more than any other artists reproduce the life of men around them exhibiting their aims, hopes, wishes, aspirations, passions in an abstract, concise way which is more intensely coloured than the deffuse facts of daily experience It comprehends both the aspects of the human activity benevolent as well as malevolent, the play, pastime, merry - making and the scuffle, the duel fight and the slaughter It shows the pursuit of men of both pious and impious temperaments, the restraint of the turbulent. Bharat says "I made this drama according to the seven lands and so you (अमराs) should not feel resentment towards the immortals The drama is to be understood as witnessing the deeds of Gods and Titans, Kings of the spheres, and the Branman sages Drama is that which accords to the order of the world its weal and woe and it consists in movements of the body and other arts of expression. The succinct view appears in

न तच्छ्रुतं न तच्छिल्पं न सा विद्या न सा कला

नाऽसौ योगो नतत्कर्म यन्नाट्येऽस्मिन्न दृश्यते।

The various types of human activities and the characters that live them during their life time form the

basis for the classification of the sanskrit drama Bhāna[1] or the one-man drama—a sort of monologue, must be the earliest form of drama—or a "formal version of a primitive mimetic performance" The performer therein narrates dramatically a variety of occurences as happening to himself or to others Love, war, fraud, intrigue, imposition are appropriate topics and the narrator may enliven his recitation by a suppositious dialogue with an imaginary interlocutor. "An appeal is made to heroic and erotic sentiment by the discription of heroism and beauty in the verbal manner e g शारदातिलक Vithi is of the same type with one act and one actor narrating a love story in a comic dialogue consisting of equivocation enigmas and quibbles There are fragment speeches in the air The first act of Mālati-Mādhao is an instance in point

Vyāyoga is also restricted to one act and one action and traverses the length of only one day It excludes female participation on account of the military transaction that it represents, The theme is legendary in character and god, or royal sage or man takes part in it This type of one act play following as it were the unities of time, place and character gave rise to अङ्क or act having characterstics either supplementry or introductory and written in a pathetic style, and covering over the period of one day.

When such ankas were put together, a full drama was evolved. It was a Dima[2] or Ihāmriga or a nātikā if the acts were four

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1 भाणस्तु धूर्तचरितं स्वानुभूतं परेण वा। यत्रोपवर्णयेदेको निपुणः पण्डितो विटः [D R 3. 49

2 डिमे वस्तु प्रसिद्धं स्याद्वृत्तयः कैशिकीं विना।

Dima, presents terrific events, portents, incantations, sorcery, combats, eclipses represented by gloomy characters e g Tripurdāha. Ihāmriga as the name signifies, was a hard search after a maiden and hence depicted the topic of love or mirth. Nātikā[1] is a love romance and as such is very favourite with the dramatist. Its theme generally is an intense and a thorough enjoyment of life, health and vigour, a readiness to take things as they come, a freedom from over-anxiety about the morrow, an absence of psychological or metaphysical riddling. This play is sometimes termed as lesser heroic comedy or sentimental comedy with a frame-work of intrigue consisting of the efforts of the hero—a gay king to attain marriage with the heroine who is a disguised princess. The meetings—sweet and secret— are arranged by the confidants of both. They have to struggle against the gealousy of the queen, a lady of mature character who at last is forced by the circumstances for the final acceptance of the situation and the consequent sanction of the nupitals of both. "The life at the court gives the opportunity for introducing music, song, and dance as

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[1] नाटिका क्लृप्तवृत्ता स्यात् स्त्रीप्राया चतुरङ्किका
प्रख्यातो धीरललितस्तत्र स्यान्नायको नृप ।
स्यादन्तःपुरसम्बन्धा सगीत व्यापृता तथा
नवानुरागा कन्यात्र नायिका नृपवंशजा ।
स प्रवर्तेत नेतास्या देव्या त्रासेन शङ्कित
देवी भवेत्पुनर्ज्येष्ठा प्रगल्भा नृपवंशजा ॥
पदेपदे मानवती तद्वशे संगमो द्वयो
वृत्ति· स्यात् कैशिकी स्वल्पविमर्शा सन्धयः पुनः ॥ S. D.

elements in the entertainments" प्रियदर्शिका, रत्नावली, मालविकाग्निमित्र are famous instances of Nātikā.

The Nātaka is a more complex play. It has got a number of secondary incidents and praveshas This form of drama is quite free from the restrictions of art. It is a form of drama par-excellance, serving different purposes ' It accomodates itself not only to the grace and charm of Kālidas but to the unmeasured and irregular genious of Bhavbhuti It permits the political drama of Vishākhdatta as well as the philosophical disquisitions of Krishnamisra and the devotional fervour of Kavi Karnapura "[1] The notable instances of this form of drama are शाकुंतल, उत्तररामचरित, मुद्राराक्षस, वेणीसंहार, चैतन्यचंद्रोदय. The Prakarana like the Mrachhakatika or the Mālati-Mādhav takes the theme from a pure fiction or from real life in a reputable class of society Love is its predominent subject The hero is a member of ministerial rank or a Brahman or a merchant It is of two types a shudha one if the heroine is a maid of a family and a sankirna one if the heroine is a courtezan It is a kind of drama or a comedy portraying the manners of the people of the common strata in the society It takes it name from the hero or the heroine Though it may have as many acts as those in a Nātak still it differs from it, in the status of the hero and the heroine There are slaves, Vitas and rogues of various kinds.

Prahasan is a farcical or comic satire on the vices of Brahman or ascetics. It has for its person heretics, Brahmans, cheta, Cheti, Vita It is both pure and mixed

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1 K D

Samàvakār[1] is a supernatural drama in which characters are divine or semi-divine. Heroic sentiment is portrayed in it

Prakarnikā, Sattak and many others are minor Rupakas or Uparupakas

The Bhāvprakāsh of Shārdātanaya says that Subandhu enumerates five divisions of Nātakas as :—

1 Purna, *e g* Kratyā-Ravan, 2 Prashānt, *e g*, Svapnavāsvadatta, 3 Bhāsvar, *e g* Mārich-Ravan, Chandragupta, Binding of Rām and Laxman by Nāgpash 4 Lalit, *e. g* Vikramorvarshiyam, Vatsrāj and Vāsavadattā 5 Samagra, *e g* Mahānātak

Tragedy is as a rule prohibited from being shown on the stage The very thought of producing a tragedy—showing a calamitous end was alien to Indian mind It defeated the very purpose of writing a play which was a means of entertainment or a pastime or weal to the world This tendency of obverting a calamitous end strengthened and grew into a tradition which was too strong for the dramatists to break. Drama was not the proper field to show the worst results of retribution or Nemises for which the philosophy and the Karma theory offered ample solution Fate is nothing outside man. He is what he has made himself on the strength of his accumulated action in past lives There is no scope for sympathy for the worst plight of a man because it is all of his own making All the evil that he gets is a just retribution. The rule laid down by Bharat prohibiting a tragedy is strictly followed by dramatists that came after him. Bhāsa who

1 कार्यं समवकारेऽपि आमुख नाटकादिवत् ।
ख्यातं देवासुरं वस्तु निर्विमर्शस्तु सधय ॥ D. R

is a pre-Bharat dramatist is credited for having written the only tragedy in Sanskrit literature His play, Urubhanga is termed a tragedy because it offers a calamitous end to Duryodhana, the enemy of Vishnu But the play fails to satisfy the rules of tragedy laid down by Aristotle The proper subject for a tragedy according to him, is the spectacle of a man, not absolutely or eminently good or wise, who is brought to disaster by some error or frailty in him Pity must be roused by undeserved misfortune and terror by misfortune befalling a man like ourselves All this is absent in the Urubhanga of Bhāsa The devotees of Vishnu are sure to regard with relish, the fate of the enemy of that god, the evil Duryodhana. The idea, therefore, of producing a tragedy is entirely wanting in the theory of Hindu dramatics as it is in practice. The severe injunction upon dramatist refraining them from producing a tragic end could not check the dramatic muse of some writers who were made of that stuff Some of their plays are, to all outward appearances, comedies in which the tragic end is perforce suppressed owing to the dramatic canons or to the tradition-built taste of the people which the dramatist dared not offend. The Uttarrāmcharit and the Venisamhār are instances of suppressed tragedies or tragi-comedies with reference to Sītā and Ashwathāman respectively The absence of tragedy makes clear the purpose of writing a play which is well expressed in their dictum "All our efforts are for your pleasure'

The difference in the several types of the dramas mentioned above, had for its basis, the difference in the subject matter or the raw material which was selected for being fashioned The traditional saga or the Gāthā literature, the Epics-Rāmāyana and Mahābhārat, the later purānas and the works like the Brihatkathā of Gunādhya

were the inexhaustible rich mines always at their command which the writers could draw upon whenever they liked Such of the writers again as happened to bask in the warm patronage of some kings compensated, by returning an encomium on their virtues and exploits by taking a theme from history There were other free lancers who afforded a full flight to their soaring muse and invented new themes and plots There were other dramatists who with their meagre talents took and dwelt upon the lesser personages and themes of the available sagas "The Hindu Theatre affords examples of the drama of domestic as well as of heroic life, of original invention as well as of legendary tradition" [1]

The वस्तु—the plot or incident or the subject—matter falls, therefore, into three clear divisions --1. Prakhyāta—the incident which is very much familiar from tradition, 2 Utpādya—that which is invented by the writer, 3 Misra—one which combines in it both the characterestics

The Vastu or the incident which is thus once adopted from tradition or from invention is sifted in point of the mutual connection of the different threads of the plot—the main currents being separated from the minor ones This divided the plot into two- 1 अधिकारिकम्[2]—which is the main because it pertains to the accomplishment of the desired object of the hero and 2 प्रासंगिकम्[3] which is the subsidiary one that accelerates the speed of the acomplish-

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1 Wilson Theatre

2 अधिकार फलस्वाम्यमाधिकारीच तत्प्रभु
तन्निवर्त्यमभिव्यापि वृत्त स्यादाधिकारिक ॥ १ ॥ D. R.

3 प्रासंगिकं परार्थस्य स्वार्थो यस्य प्रसंगत ॥ D. R

ment This latter again falls into two classes पताका[1] and प्रकरि[2] that deal with secondary topics that rise according to the exigencies and that refer primarily to the accomplishment of the desires of minor characters and secondar ly to that of the hero Of the two, Prakari is less in length and strength than Patākā

The Patākā which is a secondary incident is to be distinguishad from the पताकास्थानक which is the Dramatic irony either of situation or of words due to the happy coincidence of utterances

These three divisions have got three more sub-divisions according as the topic dealt with is Prakhyāt—well-known in history or tradition or Utpādya-invented by the genius of the dramatist or Misra—mixed. These are nine in all There are some incidents in the theme that have histrionic virtue in them, and are, most effective when shown on the stage while there are others that offend the public eye and decorum if shown on the stage They are either too indecent or obscene or too void of sentiment to be vividly represented and therefore require to be suggested only. They are दृश्यश्रव्यम् and सूच्यम्, respectively There is again a third classification of वस्तु based upon the nature of the particular material such as प्रकाशम्, स्वगतम्, अपवारितम्, जनान्तिकम् They are more stage—directions than different divisions of Vastu. The means for giving effect to the Sūchya, the suggestible material, are the Vishkambhak, Praveshak, Chulikā, Ankāsya, and Ankāvatār Vishkambhak,[3]

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1 2 नानुबन्ध पताकाख्यं प्रकरी च प्रदेशभाक् ॥ D R.

3 वृत्तवर्तिष्यमाणाना कथाशाना निदर्शक ॥ D R.

अपेक्षितं परित्यज्य नीरस वस्तुविस्तरम्

यदा सदर्शयेच्छेप कुर्याद्विष्कम्भक तदा ॥ D R. ३

indicates the different units of the story, both past and future, through the medium of mediocre character if it is pure, and of mediocre and low characters if it is Mishra. Praveshak[1] does the same function through the medium of low characters but it intervenes between two acts The Chulikā is an utterance behind the curtain by some characters The Ankāsya is an utterance of a character at the end of an act and it suggests the nature and the advent of the incidents in the following act The Ankāvatār differs from the Ankāsya in actually representing the incidents referred to, at the end of the previous act

These means of presenting the material, sifting it first according to its suitability serve as so many devices for securing economy in plot—construction The portraying of every minor incident will make the play prolix and prolixity is a serious defect in a dramatist who does never enjoy absolute freedom regarding the length of his play as his brother artist — the novelist does. A drama is always intended, as Aristotle says, for "a single hearing" The action with its salient features brought out, passes through five conditions which are called the Arthaprakritis—the means for the accomplishment of the object The whole action is surveyed from beginning to end, is cut into five suitable partitions and is made to run its course through them. The essential interest of the action does not lie in the straight, linear dynamic movement of it but lies in the circuitous movement that it takes, lies in the rise and ebb, in the fluctuating development of it The five divisions in the action are :—Beeja, Bindu, Patākā, Prakari, and Kārya.

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1. तद्वदेवानुदात्तोक्त्या नीचपात्रप्रयोजित:
प्रवेशोऽङ्कद्वयस्यान्त शेषार्थस्योपसूचक. ॥ D. R. १

1 Beeja[1] is the seed of the action and when sown spreads itself and grows into a tree, yielding the final fruit It is the initial incident

2. Bindu[2] shows a further development of the action keeping unity in the variety of the incidents of it It is the internal thread that goes through and binds together the different shreds and acquaints the theme when it is likely to be lost sight of, in the maze of the minor incidents.

3 Patākā and 4 Prakari are already explained above (page 36)

5 Kārya[3] is of course the final achievement or the conclusion

Corresponding to these five stages in the development of the action, there are five Sandhis[4] viz Mukha, Pratimukha, Garbha, Avimarsha, Nirvahana These five divisions or joints on the body of the plot are at the basis of the five acts of the drama and therefore obey the exigencies of the stage-management They contain elements of such nature as offer tension and relaxation to the feelings of the on-lookers alternately

1 Mukha[5] gives time for the seed to grow and sees the possibility of giving rise to various imports and sentiments The germination and transformations of the seed, the possibility of the adverse fortune, the food for

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1 बीज—स्वल्पमात्र समुत्सृष्ट बहुधा यद्विसर्पति, फलावसान ॥

2 बिन्दु—प्रयोजनाना विच्छेदे यदविच्छेदकारणम् ।
यावत्समाप्तिर्बन्धस्य ॥

3 कार्यम्—यदाधिकारिक वृत्त तदर्थो य समारम्भ ॥ भ ना.

4 संधि—अन्तरेकार्यसंबध ॥ भ. ना

5. मुख—बीजसमुत्पत्ति नानार्थरससम्भवा ॥ D R.

enticement, the shrewd devices, the advent of pleasure, satisfaction or misery, the inordinate initial enthusiasm, the disclosure of secret, the efforts of removing the obstacles and the rupture—are some of the many incidents that are depicted in the Mukha-Sandhi

2. Pratimukha[1] has reference to the Bindu as the first has to the Beeja It gives full scope for all the vigour and activity of the principal character to put forth for the final and speedy achievement of the object No obstacle appears in this sandhi The seed which is sown in the first sandhi shoots up a little after its germination and is both visible and invisible to some extent. The seed manifests itself in any one of the following ways:—

The desire for mutual union, pursuit of the Beeja which disappears after having manifested first a little, advent of adverse fortune efforts for averting it a piece of humour between the hero and the heroine, the consequent encouragement, a sudden impediment that clouds the prospective union, the pursuasive importunities the shaking off of the despondency consoling or coaxing for faithlessness in love etc

3 Garbha The Beeja which manifests itself and disappears a little is sought after in [illegible] part The accomplishment is not within [illegible] all of a sudden the hindrance comes in and draws [illegible] the accomplishment beyond sight. It [illegible]

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1 [illegible] | D R

[illegible] | D R

2 [illegible]

is taken off The action thus goes in a zigzag course showing the rise and fall not only of the incident but also of the sentiment It depicts the several guiles that are practised for union, the information about the whereabouts of the party, the several inferences about the attitude of the other party, the talk of compromise, the plumbing of the sentiments of others, the apprehension from the enemy and the consequent confusion The Beeja shows its sprouts in this part and points to the easy and speedy acquisition of the fruit

4 Avamarsha[1] The import of the Beeja which is disclosed in the preceding Sandhi is again tested The test comes through excitement, anger, calamity or an enticement The excitement or anger is roused by a fault-finding utterance or by an attempt to imprison or murder or by the contempt of the elders These things infuse the strength to pacify or to withstand. The calamity may be due to one's own disrespect. An attempt is made to pacify all the elements that have disturbed the course of the action

5 Nirvahana[2] completes, unites and focuses together all the scattered shreds of the story The resolution of the plot that begins in the previous part is completed in this The initial incident and a very significant utterance with reference to it are brought before and significantly welded together It gives the Prasād, Ananda, Varāpti, and Prashasti, (satisfaction, bliss, gift of boon and blessing)

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1 क्रोधेनावमृशेद्यत्र व्यसनाद्वा विलोभनात्
गर्भनिर्भिन्नबीजार्थ सोऽवमर्शोऽङ्गसंग्रह । D. R

2. बीजवन्तो मुखाद्यर्था विप्रकीर्णा यथायथम् ।
ऐकार्थ्यमुपनीयन्ते यत्र निर्वहण तदा ॥

Again of the five Sandhis, the first Mukhasandhi gives the initial incident and some exposition on it and is similar to Protasis of the greek drama; the Pratimukha shows the action its growth or the complications of the incident and resembles the Epitasis of the greek drama, the Garbha shows the climax or the crisis or the turning point of the plot-structure and resembles the Peripetera of the greek play The two Sanskrit sandhis—the Avimarsha and Nirvahana—depict both the denouement and the conclusion of the plot The falling action is shown in these and therefore they are similiar to Catabasis of the greek play

The fluctuations in the actual course of the incident due to the rise and ebb of the energies of the principal characters are shown in as many stages viz —

Ārambha[1] is the initial effort directed towards the acquisition of the great fruit and is connected with the Beeja and is in proportion to the intensity of the eagerness of the characters It consists in a determinate will of the character saying " I am sure to accomplish the end, come what may ".

Pravatna[2] —When such a commencement is made with determinate will, it becomes incumbent upon the characters to lay down a scheme and to create and adopt the employment of means for its speedy acomplishment The possibility of hindrance is to be averted

Prāptyāsha[3] —Clouds suddenly appear on the horizon and put out of sight, the object when it is just within it.

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1. औत्सुक्यमात्रमारम्भो फललाभाय भूयसे ॥

2. प्रयत्नस्तु तदप्राप्तौ व्यापारोऽतित्वरान्वित ॥

3 उपायापायशङ्काभ्या प्राप्त्याशा प्राप्तिसंभव ॥

The cup which is full to the brim and which is taken up to the lip and is on the point of being quaffed off is at once snatched from off the lips The arrival and utterance of Gautami (रे चक्रवाक आमन्त्रयस्व सहचरीम्) in the Shākuntala or the arrival of the queen Aushinary in the Vikram-orvashi or that of Vāsavdattā when the union was quite iminent and within sight are some instances in point. It is a winding turn in the course of the plot

4 Niyatāpti[1] —After the winding, the efforts again take an onward, straightforward course, giving a turn to the rocky impediments in the way and the accomplishment of the object comes to be fully and distinctly viewed.

5 Falāgama[2] —This is the last accomplishment of the object—the crowning success,—not only the union of the hero and the heroine but all the attending pleasures, the obtainment of all earthly bliss

The Sanskrit drama in general presents three types of plot There are plots designed on "single hearing plan", for instance the dramas of Bhāsa like the Dootavākya and the Madhyamavyāyoga Such dramas of single hearing are the earliest types of the drama The drama of "expansive plan' is instanced by the Mālati-Mādhav or Mrichhakatika They are admirable examples on an immense scale of the unification of the complex materials that are made to balance and illustrate one another These are thus the instances of both brevity and prolixity In some others, the plot is neither too brief nor too prolix as in the Ratnāvali or the Mālvika or the Vicramorvasheeyam where the plot appears in a condensed form Though the dramatists

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1 अपायाभावत प्राप्तिर्नियताप्ति सुनिश्चिता ॥

2 समग्रफलसपत्ति फलयोगो यथोदित ॥ D R

present a great skill in the design of plot and in giving it as far as they can, an appearance of pyramidal structure. still it has to be admitted that the plot-structure in the Sanskrit drama is more stereotyped, more conventional, more rigid and more conforming to the laws of dramatics. The Sanskrit dramatists are with a few exceptions, poets first and dramatists afterwards Of the two important constituting elements of a dramatist—the plot-construction and the characterization, the first is always sacrificed for the other and both are sacrificed for poetry This is but a natural outcome of the restrictions imposed upon their genius by the scientific canons There is always a set mould both for the plot and the person to be cast into and there is very little departure from it The only field where they are allowed a little of liberty is in the manner of expression and in the emotions The scope which the poets have given to their genius in these two departments have made them master-painters of sentiments and their acompaniments. The ancient Sanskrit drama is again more conventional than real, gives more the recognized forms of beauty than the representation or the imitation of actual life The realism of the actual life is seen in the Mrichhakatika but in most of others, the poetic fancy soars high and high and its flights are far removed from the world of actuality The fancy does come down in obedience to poetic truth or poetic fidelity with the result that there are some instances like Shākuntala and the Mālati-Mādhav where we get the ideal probability

There is with Sanskrit dramatists a set idealism in literature which has led to repetitions and analogies of thought and expressions "Similes, metaphors, stock witticisms of Vidushaka, poetic conventions had become quite fossilized in Sanskrit drama. The familiar tree

Asoka, the bird chakravāka, the bee, the rescue of the hero or the heroine from the clutches of an infuriated elephant are incidents found with every dramatist All this was common property, the literary stock-in-trade of every dramatist and poet[1]" This was the common fountain of idealism the rules of which have been already given by the writers on rhetorics Shudraka is the only play-wright, who got himself disentangled from the set idealism and preached realism in his play The realism of Shudraka has reference to logical or practical universe The hunger of Sutradhāra, the fast of his wife, the impoverishment, the pursuit of the harlot by the city-lewds, the broil of gamblers, the bankruptcy and the consequent house breaking of Sharvilak are all incidents of common occurence—thoroughly realistic

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ —The plot and the characters are inseparably and mutually connected. The plot gets a dynamic force by means of the movement of the different characters and the characters on their part are developed by the action, the story, the incident and the situation There was a number of items in the preliminaries that were gone through before the actual representation of the Sanskrit drama But they were all finished behind the curtain Hence the first character that appeared on the stage before the people is the Sutradhār He is a character that is not at all involved in the course of the drama but stands apart a little from the characters and speaks with somewhat greater authority. He along with the Praveshaka and the Vishkambhaka fulfils the interpretative function of the greek chorus He puts the spectators in possession of all the initial information that is necessary for the proper understanding of the play He

1 Dr Sukhathankar's article B O A

presents a set programme versified to some extent and it has very little dramatic effect He is the Director of the company, the principal manager who regulates the thread or rules of the drama He is generally a Brāhmin and therefore qualified to recite the Nāndi—the opening benediction employing a tone neither high nor low"[1] Quite a number of qualities are desiderated in him.[2] He must be very skilful in the presentation of the play, must have information about the various arts and sciences, the use of metres, the use of all kinds of instruments He must be conversant with the manners and the morality of the people He must know the heavens, geography, genealogies of kings He must be perfect in limbs, free from disease, sweet-tongued, forgiving, restrained, courteous[3] etc After the formal utterance of the benediction a referance is made by him to the author, giving all that is allowed by the proverbial reticence of the Sanskrit dramatists If the manager of the company happens not to be a Brāhmin, he seems to have had no right to the title of Sutradhāra nor could he recite the Nāndi in which case, the benediction is uttered by a Brahmin and the further action or the play establishd by the Sthāpak who possesses all the qualities and the appearance of the Sutradhāra In the dramas of Bhāsa, the Sutradhāra appears on the stage after the Nāndi as is clear from

1 Hindu Theatre, Wilson

2 नाट्यप्रयोगकुशल: ; नानाशिल्पसमन्वित. ; सर्वशास्त्रविचक्षण: ;
छन्दोविधानतत्त्वज्ञ , काव्यशास्त्रविचक्षण: सर्ववादित्रतत्त्ववाद

3 स्मृतिमान्मतिमान् धीर. उदार. स्मितवाक्शुचि
अरोगो मधुर क्षान्तो दान्तश्चैव प्रियंवद·
सर्वदोषविनिर्मुक्त सत्यवाग्दक्षिणस्तथा । नाट्यशास्त्र

सूत्रधारकृतारंभै (Bāna H. C). He is therefore a Sthāpak and the introduction is called the Sthāpanā

The Sutradhāra is accompanied by attendants, one or two, who are a little inferior to the Sutradhāra in point of qualities He must be intelligent, beautiful, conversant with the means and materials to be used on the stage. It is Sutradhāra and Pāripārshvak[1] that play the roles of the different principal characters in the sequel The Nati is his wife with whom he holds a conversation dealing with the usually familiar topics of the household She possesses all the qualities of the Sutradhāra. She is a lady of a few words, very clever, modest, devoted to the service of the elders The erudition, the information, the versatility are also required of her[2] The Sutradhāra, his wife and attendants are very solicitous of the public pleasure and entertainment Theirs is a pleasant and happy household

The dramatis personæ other than the characters mentioned above (Prayō tris of the play) fall into three groups—high, middle, and low—according to their constituting merits or demerits.

The hero is taken from the Uttam class and is presented into four different types according to his status If he is a god or a demi-god, he is Dhiroddhata, if a king he is Dheerlalita, if a warrior or minister he is Dheerodātta

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1 सूत्रधारगुणैश्च निचिद्गुते मध्यमप्रकृति उज्ज्वलरूपवान् मेधावी विधानज्ञ दृष्टोपकरणक्रिय॰ ॥ भ ना.

2 मितभाषा विदग्धा च सलज्जा न च निष्ठुरा । कुलशीलगुणोपेता गुरुणा शासने रता ॥ भ ना.

minor episode requires an independent hero called Peethamarda who is a little inferior to the hero to whom he acts as a devoted friend and follower He serves as a good counter-foil or a parasite for increasing the aurora of the hero Makaranda in the Malati-Madhao belongs to this class.

The Dhiroddhata type of hero mentioned above is also called the Pratināyāka—the counter hero or the villain of the play He is लुब्धो धीरोद्धत स्तब्ध पापकृद्व्यसनी रिपु, and he is instanced by Rāvana in the Vircharit or Duryodhana in the Venisamhār

The Vidushaka[1] or the merry, facetious buffoon is the most important character in the Sanskrit drama He is as indispensable to the stage as the hero to whom he acts a jocose companion and a confidential friend He typifies the lighter aspect and by his sallies and feats in mimicry, relieves the tension of the feelings brought upon by the serious sentiment of the hero He is a dwarf, old and gray and with distorted features He is a Brahmin by caste but speaks the prākrit He is said to be the successor of the Brahmachārin of the Mahāvrata ceremony who uses abusive language to a maid with whom he falls out He and the maid, both figures from old popular dramatic representations are conjointly responsible for giving food for humour in the dramas. "His attempts at wit which are never very successful and his allusions to the pleasures of the table of which he is a confessed votary are absurdly contrasted with the sententious solemnity of the dispairing hero crossed in the prosecution of his love-suit[2]" The

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1 वामनो दन्तुर कुब्जो द्विजन्मा विकृतानन
खलति पिङ्गलाक्ष स विज्ञेयो विदूषक (भ ना.)

2 Monier William Sak.

clumsy interference of the Vidushaka in the intrigues of his friend only serves to augment his difficulties and occasions many an awkward dilemma. As he is the universal butt and is allowed in return full liberty of speech, he fills a character very necessary for the enlivenment of the otherwise dull monotony of a Hindu drama. Mānavaka is his name and he is always by the side of the hero. He is the companion of his sports and promoter of his amusements. "The Prākrit drama depicts him as the type of Brahman who serves as a go-between in love-affairs masking his degraded trade under the cloak of religion." Konow takes him to be a figure from the popular drama who loved to make fun of the higher classes. He cannot certainly be taken to be the transformation of the slave of the Greek drama because he is Brahmin by caste and a Brahmin can never be a slave.

The other characters of parasite type that create a sort of rollicking humour in a Sanskrit play are Vita, Cheta and Shakār. Vita[1] is a man who is courteous, shrewd and sweet. He is of a poetic bent of mind, very quick at repartee and leads up a discussion skilfully. Vita is a clever jester, quick of retort, singularly audacious and with a special aptitude for sudden and disconcerting turns in conversation which enable him to leave the field with all the honours of victory. Cheta[2] is made of the same stuff though a little deformed. He knows

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1. वेश्योपचारकुशलो मधुरो दक्षिणः कविः । ऊहापोहक्षमो वाग्मी चतुरः ॥

2. कलहप्रियो बहुकथो विरूपो गंधसेवकः । मान्यामान्यविशेषज्ञः चेटो ह्येवंविधः स्मृतः ॥

the sense of propriety and knows also when and how to keep the dignity of others He is conversant with all arts and diverts the minds of others by the fund of stories which he has at his command

But more funny, more depraved is the character of Shakāra[1] He is taken from the अधम class of characters He is fond of gaudy clothes. He is very easily excited and very easily pacified He speaks the Māgadhi prākrit He is shown in the Mrichhakatika of Shudraka (for the treatment of which see later) Though he creates laughter in season and out of season still there is a system in his foolery and he never loses sight of the object to be accomplished Levi, possibly led by the title of this character, sees in it the traces of the Shaka influence on the Sanskrit drama He says, " The character of Shakār may be regarded in this light, in its hostility to the Shakas. It reveals a period when either a prince was opposed to the Shaka-Cythian-rule or the Shaka dominion had just fallen The Mrichhakatika may retain a confused version of the events of .00 A D" (For the discussion of the Shaka influence on the Sanskrit drama see ante, page 17) He is an ideal butt, perhaps the most foolish person ever presented on the stage A complete ignoramus, utterly incapable of grasping witticism, he is anxious to pass as a man of parts and tumbles into every word-trap that other characters lay for him A perfect and entire coward, he is fain to believe himself a perfect fire-eater He swallows compliments on his personal appearance

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1 उज्ज्वलवस्त्राभरण कुप्यत्यनिमित्तत प्रसीदति च ।
अधमो मागधीभाषी भवति शकारः ॥ B N.

without the dimmest suspicions. He is a source of endless enjoyment and profit to the audience

The action hinges upon these four characters, Cheta, Veeta, Shakār, Vidushaka and gets as much a dynamic force as with other characters They do not stand apart as the Sutradhār, his wife and attendants do. Hence they cannot be put under the class of Prayoktris as has been wrongly done by Bharat in his Nātyashāstra

There are other male minor characters in the play, for instance, the ministers, the priests, the harem-keepers, the vassals, the warriors and the several other servants. They discharge their own functions severally and conjointly, form a very good back-ground by increasing the aurora in which the principal characters are introduced They are all the coadjutors of the hero[1]

The heroine or the Nāyikā, the chief of the female characters, presents four types quite similar to the types of the hero. They are Dheerā, Lalitā, Udāttā and Nibhritā or Salajjā The essential qualities that are desired of a heroine are well expressed in the following line,—विशदा स्निग्धा मधुरा पेशलशुभरक्तकण्ठी (B. N.) The heroine of the Dheerā type must be a celestial lady; the Lalitā, a wife of a king, the Udāttā, a house-wife and the Nibhitā a hatera. The heroine is again classified into three classes as Sweeyā, Anyā, and Sādharanstree. The Sweeyā,

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1. ऋत्विक्पुरोहितौ—धर्मसहाय । सुहृत्कुमाराटविकादण्डे सामन्त
सैनिका अन्तःपुरे वर्षवरा· किराता मूकवामना ।
म्लेच्छाभीरशकाराद्या. स्वस्वकार्योपयोगिन ॥ D. R.

is either the senior queen like Vāsavadattā or the junior queen like Ratnāvali The Anyā is a princess belonging to others, but who is an aspirant to the honour of the queen Be it noted to the honour and high moral tone of the Hindu drama that the Parakeeyā or she who is the wife of another person is never made the object of dramatic intrigue Sāgarikā in the Ratnāvali, Malayavati in the Nāgānanda and Mālati are instances of this type

The Sāmānyastrī is a Ganikā or hetera and is defined as कलाप्रागल्भ्यधौर्त्ययुक् The intensity in the feelings of the heroines divides them into three classes as Mugdhā—the innocent, Madhyā—the young and sportive and Pragalbhā—the blind with love, voluptuous. There are heroines who have got their lovers deeply attached to them (Svādhīnapatikā), who adorn their household (Vāsakasajjā), who are eager for the arrival of their lovers, (Virahotkanthitā), who feel grieved to see their lovers attached to others (Khanditā), who are separated on account of some petty love-quarrel (Kalahāntaritā), who are put on the wrong track (Vipralabdhā), whose lovers are out on a long journey (Proshitapriyā), who themselves make the advances of love or proceed on a visit to their lovers (Abhisārikā The beauty, the lustre, the sweetness, the gentleness, the nobility, the courage, the sentimentality are virtues that are born with the heroines They also display the natural, sportive gaits and gestures

The coadjutors of the heroine in her affairs of love are her friends and maids, nurses and neighbours, female recluses and artisans The Dootis or Sakhis of the heroines are generally smart waiting maids clever, quick-witted, with an eye on the main issue They have got a very keen enjoyment of joke, practical or otherwise.

They play their cards with marked success and secure the downfall of the king's friends.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES·— The raw material for both the plot and the characters is taken by the Sanskrit poets mostly fr m the epics, and is fashioned, moulded and made adaptable to the stage. The epics on account of their expansive plan of structure can afford to take notice of only the broad features. The minor details in situations and characters are totally neglected The dramatist takes notice of such subtle details, associates them with characters and interprets thereby the general principles of human life The Sanskrit dramatists have thus been saved from the trouble of using the creative imagination to bring into being new plots and characters and to make the audience sufficiently equipped to receive them The audience is always in full possession of the necessary initial information about the plot and the characters The efforts which are thus saved in one branch of imagination, *viz* the creative, are put forth in its other two branches, *viz* the associative and the interpretative The old plots and characters are rehabilitated to suit the exigencies of the stage and with their help quite an interpretative commentary is offered on the analysis of the sentiments of the human heart

The plot in Sanskrit drama rises, attains to a high pitch and falls-resolves It is thus a pyramidal structure and the various sandhis or acts represent the various important stages in the rise and fall of it. The minor incidents are arranged in strict sense of propriety as in the plays of Kālidās and Shri Harsha The important ones are repeated and focussed for magnifying the results as in

the Mritchhkatika and thus unity and oneness are produced regarding the fruit of the action In spite of the solitary instances wherein the unity and proportion of the play are violated, for instance the plays of Bhavbhuti, still the Sanskrit drama in general satisfies the principles of art-construction, *viz* the proportion, the repetition, the focussing, the similarity and contrast, unity and oneness

The skill in plot-texture appears to the utmost in the scene of ornament of Vasantsenā in the Clay–cart, in the ring- episode in Shākuntala, in the Jrimbhakāstra in Uttarrāmcharita, in the Bakulmālā in the Mālati-Mādhao, in the ring-incidents of Rākshasa The following are again the best scenes from the point of view of plot, character and sentiment the separation of daughter in Shākuntala and bidding her farewell, disowning of her by Dushyanta, the separation and union of friends Vāsanti and Atreyi in U Rām , Chārudatta being taken to the gallows, the feigned quarrel between Chānakya and Chandragupta, the brave altercation betwwen Karna and Ashwathāman, the heroic and desperate dialogue between Madhao and Aghorghanta

Though comedies, they contain in them the conflict of views interest, or sentiment that is most essential for the action of a drama There is conflict in the Uttarrāmcharita in the character of Rāma between the two very important constituents of character—the sense of Duty and Conscience Sītā to him "was above suspicion" but his duty as the king required him to abandon her There is conflict between the innocence and simplicity of boyhood typified by Rāma and the ire of Jāmadagnya in the Mahāvircharita There is conflict in the Mudrārākshasa

[illegible] the damage to [illegible]. In the [illegible], the [illegible] with the piety [illegible] of enlarge- [illegible]

[illegible] the conjunction of [illegible] the other [illegible] in him, and [illegible] character is the [illegible] the grand position of all [illegible] acting on him [illegible]. The theory of re- [illegible] human life. [illegible] an [illegible] over- [illegible] Rama abandons [illegible] the poignancy [illegible] with proposals to [illegible] poetry [illegible] and truthful but equivo- [illegible]. The circumstances [illegible] from within and [illegible] character is formed.

There is no personality both as regards the plot and the character in Sanskrit drama. The writer stands quite aloof from them as a witness or a third party or in the capacity as it were of Sutradhara. No character is as much akin to the personality of the author and no plot reveals that it formed at any time a part of his life actually lived by him. The brevity in both plot and characters is carried to excess by Bhāsa, is properly [illegible] to by Kalidas and Harsha and is openly defied by Bhavabhuti and Bana. The dialogues, the asides,

the soliloquies add not only a dynamic element to the plot but enable the readers to enter into the hidden recesses of the hearts of the characters. Bhāsa and Vishākādatta are the masters of dialogue The dialogue is a means of characterization because it unfolds the character by means of the utterances not only of the character but of others about him It is the dramatist's only substitute for direct analysis It has immense value in the exhibition of passions, motives, and feelings It must have organic connection with the action which runs underneath it It should be natural, appropriate, dramatic, easy, fresh, vivid, and interesting All this can be said of the dialogues of Bhāsa.

Besides brevity and impersonality, there is another feature in the characterization of the Sanskrit drama and that is 'concentration'—emphasis upon those qualities of a character that really influence the action The chivalry and gallantry of Dushyanta, Pururavas and Udayana, the chastity and purity of Rāma, the filial affection of Kanva, the love and respect for the self and the family of Sītā and Shakuntalā, the friendly regard of Makarand and Mādhav, the loyal and cautious politics of Chānakya and Rākshas, the steadfastness and resignation of Chārudatta, the sacrifice of Vasantsenā, the maternal care and shrewdness of Kāmandaki and Sankhāyani, the proverbial jealousy of the queens and many others are gradually and unmistakably evolved and emphasised They are focussed and are made to influence the course of action conjointly

There is one more condition of characterization that is found in Sanskrit drama — the method of cross-lighting The characters are unfolded by means of presenting parrallel and opposite characters The Sanskrit poets create parallel figures in their plays which produce a good

failing curses and counter-curses in the Shākuntala, the ardent eagerness of the lovers as opposed to the jealousy of the queens in the V. U. and in the Priyadarshikā, the conflicting interest of the two rivals in love in the Mālati-Mādhao and the Mrichhakatika, the fulfilment of oath in the Mudrārākshasa are instances where contrast as a design in plot works powerfully.

The principle of contrast is as much important in the development of plot as it is in that of characters. The rise and fall of actions are but the two ends of the contrast and the sharper the contrast between them, the more vivid are they. The Patākāsthānas present nothing but contrast between two aspects of the same thing and cause surprise in the situation, which is received in an ironic way by both the characters and the spectators. The dramatic irony of this kind concerns itself with the happy and appropriate though unexpected use of word or use of situations where accordingly it is termed as verbal irony and irony of situation. The Mudrārākshasa is replete with verbal ironies when the word 'jayatu' is uttered with reference to Chānakya and 'grihita' with reference to Rākshasa. All the emissaries of Chānakya that enter into the close and confidential service of Rākshas who to his utmost surprise finds them to be his enemy's men, create so many ironies of situation. The dream-scene in Venisamhāra is another instance of the irony of situation.

The deepening of sentiments is another important feature in the character-caricature of the Sanskrit drama and it is achieved at the sacrifice of both the plot and the character. The Sanskrit dramatist is first a poet, secondly a sentiment-painter and lastly a dramatist. The ancient rhetoricians held that a dramatist should set

before him for his chief object the creation of sentiment and Rasa—(Rasodbhāvana), which has led to some defects in the plot-construction. The main object of a dramatic work is the evolution of some Rasa by means of Vibhāvas and anubhāvas. "The Rasa is a phenomenon which is both semiphysiological and semi-psychological. The human sentiments, their rise and fall, are biologically connected with similiar disturbance in the biological kingdom. The supra-human or the infra-human is as much subject to emotional disturbance as the purely human. It is this that gives rise to phenomenon which the western critics term as "Pathetic fallacy" or "Sympathetic illusion" which consists in transferring mental or emotional states of human beings to things in the animal kingdom All the stimuli or the Uddipan-Vibhāvas are means of causing fallacies, illusions, or miscreations They are, therefore, pathetic fallacies and they abound in both Kālidās and Bhavbhuti "There are certain permanent or dominant moods of the human mind (Sthāyibhāvas) which generally lie dormant, but are aroused when appropriate stimuli are applied. The stimuli in a dramatic representation are words and gestures (Abhinayas). As the painter produces an illusion by means of brush and colour so the dramatist by words so rouses some of the dominant moods that for the moment the spectator or the reader forgets himself and has an æsthetic enjoyment of a particular kind The resultant æsthetic enjoyment or pleasure is called Rasa The dominant moods are eight in number rati-love, hāsa-laughter, shoka-grief, krodha-anger, utsāha-energy, bhaya-fear, jugupsā-concealment, vismaya-surprise When they are roused by vibhāvas-stimuli, anubhāvas, and vyabhichari bhāvas, they attain to the condition of the several eight

sentiments or rasas-shringar-the erotic, hāsya-the comic, karuna-the pathetic, raudra-terrific, vir-the heroic, bhayānak-the dreadful, bibhatsa-the depraved, adbhuta-the wonderful There is one more sentiment-shānta or the calm which is found in poetry and not in a drama which contains gestures and movements that work against it There are other minor rasas, for instance, vātsalya or filiality, bhakti or devotion, kārpanya or poverty, shraddhā or faith

The love to a man or woman is roused by such causes as moonrise, the spring, flowers, bowers These means are called the Uddipan vibhāvas and the man and the woman are called the ālambanavibhāvas-the sub strata for the emotions The external manifestations such as movements of eye, glances that convey the working of the emotions are called the anubhāvas There are secondary moods (fleeting) such as nirveda-despondency, glāni-fatigue or ennui, they being called the Vyabhichāribhāvas [1]

The Shringār[2] or Erotic is full of refulgence and is the product of the permanent mood-love It concerns itself with whatever is pure, chaste, refulgent and beautiful. It has reference to men and women. It is of two kinds Sambhoga and Vipralambha The Sambhoga is produced by garlands, ointments, ornaments, meeting with persons of the heart and their objects, resort to pleasure-gardens, sports and other things and is given expression to through sportive words and glances The other, Vipralambha, is given expression to by despondency, fatigue, jealousy, suspicions, anxiety, dreams &c The pathetic or the Karuna is expressed through tears, lamentations, drying of the

1 Kane s Sahityadarpana

2 रतिस्थायिप्रभव उज्ज्वलवेषात्मकः ।

mouth and is the result of curse, calamity, loss of beloved. The comic or the Hāsya is produced by quaintness in dress, speech, taste, deformity in limbs and is expressed by contracting and enlarging the eyes, the nose and the mouth It must contain the three most important elements of the comic—the degradation, the incongruity and the automatism in manners, which are satisfied by the characters like the Vidushaka, or the Shakār and the Shekhar in Nāgānanda The Roudra or the terrific has reference to demons and goblins, and is the result of anger, insult, excitement, malice jealosy, both harshness and highness of tongue. The heroic or the Vira has got reference to a noble, heroic character and is expressed through determinate resolution, modesty, strength, valour, exploits etc. The fearful or the bhayānaka is expressed by an uncommon cry, resort to desolate forest, the slaughter of one's own kith. The bibhatsa consists in hearing and witnessing what is unwholesome, undesirable, revolting to taste. The last-adbhuta or the wonderful consists in the surprise with which a man is taken The surprise is the result of some illusion or magic, or of the intervention of some super-human influences

In the actuality of life there are forces—call them abnormal, sub-normal or super-normal—that work indirectly upon the human mind The propensities, benevolent or malevolent, innate or otherwise are floating in nature and take refuge with a suitable soul The wierd sisters in Macbeth, the ghost of Hamlet, the Rākshasa and Rākshasi in Venisamhāra, the river deities in U Rām are so many propensities of the characters given flesh and body to Their appearance and occurence baffles solution and, therefore, the solution of such inexplicable things is based upon the traditional beliefs in angels, ghosts, spirits, omens, astro-

logy-dreams—that possess enormous influence upon the easily credible minds

The solution of the inexplicable enigmas takes the people by surprise and gives rise to the sentiment of surprise (Adbhuta) The potency of the curse of Durvasa in Shāk., the intuitive knowledge of Kanva, the flight of Shakuntalā in the air, the sudden disappearance of Sitā, the use of tiraskarini with which Sītā and Urvashi witness the bereaved condition of their lovers-the prophecy about Āryaka and Pālaka in the Claycart, about Sāgarikā in the Ratnāvali and the Priyadarshikā, the philosophy of flesh and blood of Rākshasa and Rākshasi and the exploits of the child-heroes—Lava and Bharat are all instances of Adbhuta rasa

REPRESENTATION —The performance of a Sanskrit play began with a dance both violent and tender, followed by a song which was recited both in standing and sitting postures. Before the actual recitation of the Nāndi there was a number of preliminaries[1] that were gone through. The drums were beaten, the singers and the musicians entered, tried their voices , the instruments were adjusted so as to produce a sweet triple symphony The Sutra-dhāra raised the banner with a song scattering flowers Then was repeated in a medium voice, the Nāndi[2] consisting of one or more verses of two or four lines, calling

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1 पूर्वरंग = प्रत्याहार, अवतरण, आरभ, आश्रावणा, वाद्यवृत्ति, उत्थापन, परिवर्तन, नान्दी, त्रिगत, प्ररोचना

2 नान्दी:- आशीर्वचनसंयुक्ता नित्य यस्मात्प्रयुज्यते ।
देवद्विजनृपादीना तस्मान्नान्दीति संज्ञिता ॥

for blessings and offering salutation by the Brahmin Sutradhāra The characters then moved and danced on the stage There was a funny talk between the Sutradhāra and the Vidushaka. The Nati appeared and announced the contents of the drama The Sthāpak-a non-brahmin manager came and opened the introduction. Then the introduction commenced It had thirteen different ways of introducing the matter and the characters, the chief of which are a Kathoddhat.—"the words of the Director may be, caught up by a character entering from behind a curtain Yaugandharāvan catches up the consolation offered to the actress which is applicable to his own scheme Bheema denounces the benediction of his adversaries in the Venisamhara " Pravrattaki may enter who has just been mentioned by the director in a comparison with the season of the year (Priyadarshikā) "Prayogātishaya, where the Sutradhāra actually mentions the entry of character of the drama as in Shākuntala, ' Uddhātya—abrupt dialogue as a means of connection as in Mudrārākshasa "[1].

After the introduction, came the body of the play which was cut into suitable divisions or Ankas in which food was given to the nourishment of several sentiments with due sense of propriety and with due vigilance as regards the chief aim to be achieved Last of all was uttered the Bharat-Vakya or the epilogue in which pious wish was expressed for prosperous times both to the audience and the characters or to the sovereign patron. Curtain was dropped at the end of every act and all characters made an exeunt.

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1 K D

The dress and the colour varied according to the status and the clan to which the particular character belonged The ascetics were clothed in barks of trees proper to their way of life. The keepers of the harem put on a red jacket The gandharvas, the yakshas and other semi-divine beings and kings in general had to put on gay garments, the parents put on colourless garments The pastoral and other low class people used dark blue clothes The mad characters were shown in dirty clothes.

The kings were shown in bright sable complexion. The foresters like the Kirātas, the Dravidians, the Barbaras the Ādhras, the Pulindas and the Deccanis were painted in pitch-dark The Yavanas, the Sythians, the Palhavas, the Balhikas, the Brahmins and Kshatriyas were shown redish-yellow. The Pānchālas, the Shursenas, people from Magadha, Vanga, Anga and Kalinga were dyed in black colour

The ornaments that were put on by the characters were made of thin copper plates[1], of abhrak, of reeds and they were coloured, so also the instruments and the armours were made of bamboo reeds even or of earth and then they were coloured and wrapped up in cloth The flimsy substance was specially selected, for it mattered very little if they were crushed to pieces in a scene of altercation or fight

The languages differed again according to the status of the characters The gods, the angels, the Brahmins, the heroes of the four types spoke in Sanskrit Other characters less in dignity made use of any one of the several

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1 तस्मात्ताम्रमयैः पत्रैरभ्रकै रञ्जितैरपि ।
भाण्डैरपि मधूच्छिष्टैः कार्याण्याभरणानि च ॥

Prākrits suited to the caste and country from which they hailed The heroines used two languages The Shaurseni with them was the normal vehicle of prose and the Maharashtri of poetry. There were other seven languages: Māgadhi spoken by the keepers of the kings' harem; Ardhamāgadhi by the Chets and the merchants, the Prāchya or the Eastern dialect by the Vidūshaka; the Avanti by deceits; Shaurseni by the heroines and their maids, the Bālhika and the Deccani dialects by the people coming from those particular countries. The Mrichhakatika shows quite a variety of prākrits with some minor subtle distinctions

In spite of the strong injunctions that the usage of the plays as regards the language should be nothing but copying the actual practice in real life still the languages—Sanskrit and the Prākrits had fallen into disuetude and had become quite artificial by the time of the Sanskrit classical drama. At the time of Bhāsa the languages—Sanskrit and the Prākrits were the lip-languages and not the book-languages of the people. The Sanskrit ceased to be a spoken language perhaps after 200 B. C contemporaneously with the time of Patanjali Then the Pāli and the Prākrits took its place and continued to hold it for the next 400 years—upto the time of Hāla Sātvahana or Vatsyāyana. Then the domain was given to the Apabhramsas to traverse upto 500 A. D.—upto the advent of the modern vernaculars.

On the languages depended the Vrittis or the styles. What the sentiments are on the psychological side, the Vrittis are on the intellectual side of words As the actions produce the sentiments so the words produce the Vrittis. The Vrittis tell about the languages, the coun-

tries, the dress, the customs, and manners They have got the power of both the expression and the suggestion They are four in number *viz.* Kaishiki (graceful), Sātviti (grand), Ārabhati (violent) and Bhārati (verbal). Of these the first pertains to the sentiments of comic, pathos and the erotic, makes use of song, dance, lovely raiments and expresses itself on the substrata of both males and females It has got four ways of expression—Narman-wits of love, Narmaspunja—love at the first sight *e g* meeting of the king and Mālvika, Narmasphōta—suggestion of rasa, Narmagarbha—hiding of secret signs *c f.* Vatsa, comes in the garb of Manoramā The Sātviti has got reference to the heroic, wonderful and sometimes pathos and erotic Its subjects are virtue, courage, self-sacrifice, compassion, righteousness, and is expressed in four ways challange or Utthāpaka, *e g* Vāli defies Rām in M V Sanghātya—breach of alliance *e.g* in M R Parivartak—change of action, *e g* Parashurām offers to embrace Rām in M V and Samlāpa-dialogue of warriors The third Ārabhati refers to fury, horror and the means of expression are magic, conjuration, underhand devices and the elements are sankshipti—as in Elephant of mats in Rat , Vastūsthāpanā—creation of an object by magic means, Sampheta—angry meeting as between Mādhao and Aghorghanta , Avapata—scene of attack—the escape of monkey in Rat. The last Bhārati refers to words and has for its means the human voice It expresses all sentiments The introduction of M. R and Veni are instances of this Vritti.

Each one of the four Vrittis is associated with one of the four Vedas and has undoubtedly got something to do with the countries and the people who dwell in it The ritis (रीतिः) are six according to Bhoja. They are Āvanti,

Māgadhi, Vaidarbhi,[1] Lāti,[2] Gaudi[2], Pānchāli [3] Of these the important are 3rd, 5th and 6th. The Vaidarbhi shows "majesty elevation, clearness precision, beauty elegance metaphor homogeneity, softness and natural flow. The Gaudi has fondness for long compounds and relies on force and beauty. The Pānchāli has sweetness and softness

The Vrittis or the pravrittis and the ritis include in them all the intellectual and the emotional qualities of the style. Of the intellectual qualities clearness is produced by refraining from the use of ambiguity, simplicity by refraining from the use of old obsolete words and long compounds and a load of attributes which render the style cumbrous (c. f Bāna and Bhatt Nārāyan), impressiveness is produced by the employment of contrast and similes which are replete in Sanskrit literature, by the isolation of sentences (as in Bāna) and lastly the picturesqueness is produced by the description of the still life as in the forest Dandakā or Jābāli's hermitage or by the description of action involving movements as in the fight of Lava and Chandraketu, Rāma and Jāmdagnya The chief attraction of it lies in the creation of images. It is opposed to artificiality (as in Bhatt Nārāyana).

Of the emotional qualities, the strength causes the expansion of heart and rises in vehemence in the senti-

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1. वैदर्भी—अस्पृष्टा दोषमात्राभिः समग्रगुणगुंफिता
   विपञ्चीस्वरसौभाग्या वैदर्भीरीतिरिष्यते
2. वैदर्भीपाञ्चाल्यौ प्रेयसी करुणे भयानकाद्भुतयो· लाटी गौडी रौद्रे कुर्यात् ।
3. पाञ्चाली—१ वर्णः शेषे पुनर्द्वयो । समस्त पञ्चपदो बन्ध पाञ्चालिका-
   मता । चतु· पञ्चपदै. समस्ता माधुर्यव्यञ्जकवर्णयुता रीतिः ।.

ments of horror and fury. It is expressed by compound letters, conjunct consonants formed of cerebrals other than na, by long compounds of words formed of palatal and cerebral sibilants Sweetness is the source of pleasure and appropriate to the sentiment of love, pathos, and calm It is produced by the use of mutes, nasals, ra and short syllables Both strength and sweetness are the outcome of ideality that depends upon the powerfullness of emotions and the adequateness of the manner of expression. The violation of the self-respect and the honour of the wife. the insult and the slaughter of the father of Ashwatthaman, the slaughter of the brothers of Duryodhana give rise to powerful emotions that produce the ideality. The "Ludicrous" quality appears in the description of Jarddravida dhārmika in the M. M, in the Charvāka scene in the Veni. and by the Vidushaka in almost every drama. The basic principle of this quality is the degradation of the comic character from the normal standard of humanity, and the automatisms and the incongruity of its actions. Sympathy is seen in the case of some dramatists like Bhavabhūti and Bhatt Nārāyan who enter into the characters themselves and consequently get reflected. The last and important quality of style in Sanskrit poet is 'Harmony" The sound is never at variance with the sense that is expressed. Even the different metres have been made the handmaids of the sense and the sentiments to be given expression to Contempt is expressed by Drutavilambita Eulogy, sublimity, sorrow for past glory are expressed in Anushtubh. Shikharini is appropriate for grief, heroism and roughness in description Realistic descriptions are given in the Mandākrānta. Cruelty, mercilessness, valour, established maxims are the proper subjects for the Shārdūlvikridita. Hoplessness,

disappointment, indifference are expressed by both Aryā and Praharshini. Defiance is expressed by Vasantatilakā. Though these are the results of direct analysis of the various metres employed in the plays still no strict and fast rule can be laid regarding the employment of metres The Nātyashāstra says—the erotic sentiment demands metaphors and prefers the Aryā The heroic prefers the use of short syllables, similes, metaphors The sentiment of fury adopts the same metres with short syllables similes, metaphors. The pathos prefer long syllables. Of the seven tunes in the symphony of music the *ma* and *pa* should be used for comic and erotic, the *sa* and *ri* for the heroic and the wonderful, the *ga* and *ni* for the pathos, and the *dha* for terror and horror The various terms that occur in the fourth act of the Vikramorvashiyam when the king in a fit of insanity, raves show the high level that was maintained in music. The king there sings in as many as eight different tunes *viz* Charchari Khandaka, Khuraka, Kulilikā, Mallaghati, Khandikā, Chaturasraka, Dwipadikā etc.

THEATRE.—The Sanskrit dramas were performed in a temple of god on the occasion of a festival of that god (*e. g* Kālpriyanāth of Ujjain) or in the palace of kings on the occasion of a special rejoicing or solemnity like that of royal marriage (*e g* Shri Harsha) or on the open space like the bank of a river (*e. g* in the case of Bhavbhuti's plays). As early as the Mauryan king Bimbisāra the Sanskrit plays were represented before the kings. A Boudha nātaka was performed before the king of Shobhāvati. The Kuttinimātā of Damodar, a book written in the reign of Jayāpida of Kashmere (800 A. D.), gives an account of the performance of the Ratnāvali of Harsha. The mountain caves were used for the recitation of the epics as is

shown by Rāmgarha hill in ChhotāNāgpur In the palaces of kings there was a Chamber or hall known as Sangitashālā—Music Saloon in which dancing and singing were practised and sometimes exhibited (for instance Mālvika, Vāsavdattā, Āranyakā). When such chambers were not available, the performances were given in a building called the prekshāgriha, set apart for public entertainments Bharat in his Nātyashāstra refers to three kinds of theatres The first was the spacious one called the Vikrishtha or jyestha having the length of 108 hands (hand=18 inches), the form of a mountain cave It had two floors and was divided into Nepathyagriha Rangashirsha and the place for the audience It was not recommended so much as the acoustic effect was diminished by its expanse The second was called the chatursra of medium size, 64 hands long and was intended for kings It was divided into three parts—Nepathyagriha, Rangashirsha, Rangapītha. It was not exactly a square but a ten-cornered building and the rangapītha a four-cornered one The level was raised and supported by four pillars. The third called the Tryasra or a triangular one was intended for the common people It had two doors, one at the apex and the other in the middle of the base of the triangle, the base forming the stage. The Nepathyagriha was the most backward room in a hindu theatre, where the decorations were kept and where the actors attired themselves and remained in readiness before entering the stage, whither also they withdrew on leaving it The rest of the house was divided into two, one for the audience and the other stage The auditorium was marked off by pillars, in front a white pillar for the Brahmins, red one for Kshatriyas, in north-west, a yellow pillar for

Vaiśhyas, and in the north-east a blue-black pillar for the Shudras. The pillars were richly decorated with garlands. The seats were of wood or of bricks arranged in rows The ranga or the stage was in front of the spectators adorned with pictures. Behind the stage there was the curtain called पटि or अपटि and behind the curtain there was the tiring room. When a character made appearance in hurry, or alarm, he entered with a toss of the curtain (अपटिक्षेपेण) The actors were thus hidden from the audience by a screen, through which they entered or made on exit Though there was nothing complex in the scene arrangements still there was a number of stage-directions for the characters which they could not give effect to and consequently left to the imagination of the audience Janāntikam, swagatam, ātmagatam (जनान्तिकम्, स्वगतम्, आत्मगतम्) were so many different forms of soliloquies and as such did enable the hearers to enter into the inmost recesses of their hearts and to know its subtle working; but in addition to that they were stage-directions that secured economy in the stage arrangement. The same can be said of Akāsha-bhāshita—utterances behind the curtain signifying horror, confusion, or voices of gods. The scene-arrangement was very simple and limited, there being perhaps only two curtains, one between the stage and the audience and the other between the stage and the tiring room The stage was divided into three parts, the front stage was used to represent any open space, street, square or field The back stage represented a room in a palace or council chamber or any interior, and the third the upper stage was used for any elevated spots, walls of palaces or towns This was also used as the stage for the drama within a drama, the instances of which are in the Ratnāvali, Mālvikā and Uttarrāmcharita.

The other accessories of the stage were also limited and much had to be supplied by either the imagination of the audience or by the description of the Sutradhār or by gesticulations of the actors "Thus though the car of Dushyanta might have been represented on the stage the horses would be left to the imagination and the speed of the chariot indicated by the gesticulations of the charioteer.[1]" A car might have been brought on the stage in the Mrichhakatika The dramas of Bhāsa and the Uttarrāmcharita required the presentation of the ariel chariots of gods Seats, thrones, weapons were made of bamboos or of mechanical mass or of cloth.

Discrimination was shown in giving the different roles of character to be presented in the play Males were as a matter of course represented by males Females also were represented by females in general, instances of which are in Chitralekhā, Urvashi, Āranyakā, and Mālvikā Instances are found showing that it was not altogethar uncommon for men or lads to personate female characters like the Boudha priestess, Kāmandaki in the Mālati-Mādhao or Sankrityāyani in Priyadarshikā The roles of gods and goddesses were played by persons who were neither tall nor short, neither fat nor lean,, but lustrous and beautiful. Those of demons and goblins were played by the stunted and the pigmy, having a roaring voice, and a furious look The king's roles were played by persons with good limbs and character, with shrewdness and learning The servants and the Vidushakas were represented by persons of the ugly appearance, stunted stature, deformed limbs.

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CHAPTER III

The Pre-Kālidāsan Drama

(1) BHĀSA

As far as our knowledge of the Sanskrit dramatists goes, we can say that to Bhāsa belongs the palm of being the pioneer Sanskrit dramatist. It was he who broke the ground first The drama and the dramatist were not held in high esteem by the general public The keenness of this feeling was made blunt by Bhāsa What Marlowe did for Shakespeare in paving the way for him, Bhāsa did for the later Sanskrit dramatists. His plays, therefore, deserve to be looked to with great clemency and they command the respect of all lovers of Sanskrit dramaturgy, not because they are the finished products of a tried hand but because they are the first specimens of a fully developed child in drama who had to write because he was inspired from within to write, overcoming not only his own disinclinations but also the religious and the social bias of those who surrounded him. These plays show what the play was like which our old fathers read and staged not influenced in the least by the Hellenic influence a stamp of which has been detected by some on the Kālidāsan and *the post-Kālidāsan dramas*

The later poets found the bony structure in the dramas of Bhāsa and they by means of their genius clothed the bony skeleton with the romance of words and ideas. The plays of Bhāsa are like the morality or miracle plays of the English theatre. Some prominent or note-

worthy episode is taken from the epics or the puranas or the legend, arranged, sifted and a kind of dramatic interest is created in it by means of apportioning suitable dialogues to the characters. The original episode which it forms part of, is as it were a grain in the great ocean of the epics and therefore receives a very scanty attention of the author though he possessed a master-mind The later man with genius comes up, notices the charm in the gaps of the broader aspects neglected by the epic poets and he makes the detached incidents very interesting by filling the gaps with new material of his own invention. The action which in the hands of the epic writer goes by leaps and bounds, runs very slowly in the hands of the later writer, who concerns himself with only one solitary theme or episode The same thing can be said of characters. The epic writer creates a number of men and women and theratore misses even the most prominent features af the chracters Such unjust treatment of characters in big books offends the moral sense of readers. A later writer can justify his production or imitation by saying that it was necessary to remove the injustice in the moral world and thus to rehabilate the characters. It is this function that is expected of the later dramatists and Bhāsa has discharged it in the case of his epic-puranic. the legendary or folk-lore plays Bhāsa is the first known dramatist to put an episode of romance from the epic or the folk-lore in dramatic structure. It cannot be said with any scientific accuracy whether the dramatic mould of the Bhāsa s plays could be attributed to some written work on dramaturgy or whether it was his own The only known work of established repute is the work of Bharatmuni but the question of its date is yet a debatable point The dramas of Bhāsa show clear

indications of defiance rather than of obedience to the rules of Bharat Howsoever great antiquity Bharat may claim, he may even say that he was the stage-manager in the theatre of Indra, still we can say that at the time of Bhāsa the dramaturgy was not cast into a definite and accurate science The common technique of the Bhāsa's dramas is certainly very crude and is at variance with Bharata's rules The scenes of death, battles, slaughter, plays and games that are prohibited by the canons are shown by Bhāsa (c f combat of Arishta and Krishna, the slaying of Kamsa, Dashrath's death, the death of Chanura, Mushtika lying on the stage, Vāli and Duryodhan perish on the stage) There is a game of ball shown in the Swapna. The common technique of plot-construction of Bhāsa referred to by Bāna[1] fully applies to these thirteen dramas (Nātakchakra) They begin with Sutradhāra giving the salutation and not with Nāndi They give a number of characters or Bhūmis (the Swapna, 16; the Pratidnya, 16, Avimark 20, Bālcharita 30). They have in them the Patākās or secondary episodes *viz.* Padmāvati in Swapna, of Bharata in Pratimā; of Sugrīva in Abhishekha; of Sankarshana in Bāl-Charita There is in the plays, no Prastāvanā but Sthāpana There is no reference to the poet's name in any one of them There is free use of magic in Dūtavakya, Avimarak and M Vyāyoga The Bālcharita and Panchratra make use of dance as an ornament of the drama. The whole dramatic design is under an overwhelming influence of epic tradition and epic recitation The bharatvākya or the epilogue

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1 सूत्रधारकृतारंभैर्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकैः । सपताकैर्यशो लेभे भासो
देवकुलैरिव । ह च. १

is not regular but varied. राजसिंह प्रशास्तु न Cs the usual burden of it But it expresses the ups and downs in his life Sometimes he desires for the disappearance of the misfortunes, at others, he desires for an universal rule of his. These facts about the common technique, as well as the prākrits and other coincidences of metre, style, words, phrases, ideas and idioms point to the fact that the dramas are distinctly the outcome of one and the same penmanship.

The dicision regarding the authorship of one of the thirteen plays will automatically decide the authorship of all The Swapna drama which was a great favourite with the old rhetoricians is identical with the Swapnavāsavdattā in the T V series which were unearthed by the indefatiguable scholar of Trevendrum, the late Ganapati Shāstri One of the four mss says in the colophone "Swapnanātakamavasitam" while the other three say "Swapna-Vāsavdattā samāptā" The illustration referring to the marriage between Padmāvati and Udayana-Vatsa given by Sarvānanda (of 1200 A D) in his commentary of the Amar to instance the Arthashringār is found in the Swapna of the T V Series [1] Sport is prohibited by the canons of dramatics to be shown on the stage but the rhetorician Abhinavagupta (1200 A D) refers to an instance of a game being staged which is met with in the Swapna (act II) when Padmāvati and Vāsavdattā play with a ball [2] Kshīrswāmi the commentator of Amar illustrates the terms Devi and Bhattini by Vāsavdattā and Padmāvati respectively which cannot be taken to

1 पद्मावतीपरिणयोऽर्थशृंगार स्वप्नवासवदत्ते

2 × क्वचित्क्रीडा यथास्वप्नवासवदत्तायाम् Ch. I.

refer to the characters in the Brihatkathā because the terms are strictly dramatic terms, nor can they refer to the characters in the sister plays of Harsha because there is no Padmāvati as second heroine. They must therefore refer to the characters in the play of Bhāsa Another rhetorician, Shāradātanaya while making an exposition on the five Sandhis illustrates them with situations in the Swapna and quotes as an illustration of the Beeja Sandhi, a verse which is actually found in the Swapna of T. V. Series[1] Bhojadeva in his Shrngarprakāsh describes the dream of Udayana which is exactly found to be the dream-scene in the Swapna-Nātak of T V. Series.[2] Vāmana's instance of Vyājokti is the same verse in the fourth act of Swapna, and the line yō bhartripindasya krite na yudhyet[3] is also taken from the same drama and not from the Arthashastra because the rhetoricians are sure to draw upon the books of poetics and dramatics rather than of politics The Swapna—Vāsavdattā is ascribed to Bhāsa again by Rājshekhara in his anthology and by the two disciples of Hēmachandra in their Mirror of Dramatics (Levi—two plays)

In all the thirteen plays the writer has maintained cruel reticense about himself disregarding even the usual formality of mentioning his name that is followed by one and all dramatists in Sanskrit The only course left for

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1 चिरप्रसुप्त· कामो मे वीणया प्रतिबोधित:
ता तु देवीं न पश्यामि यस्या घोषवती प्रिया S. V. and भाव प्र. 8 ch.

2 शरच्छशाकगौरेण वाताविद्धेन भामिनी । काशपुष्पलवेनेद साश्रुपातं मुखं मम (व्याजोक्ति)

3 यो भर्तृपिंडस्य कृते न युद्धेत

us is to glean the information given in his own book and in the books of others and to decide his time and surroundings His plays show that he is a divotee of both Shiva and Vishnu, that he revers Brahmins and condemns Budhism and Jainism with the words Nagnāh andhsnaramanakāh The references to Magadha Rājagriha, Venuvana, Nagvana show his familiarity with the province of Magadha and not of Ujjain as is maintained by some The patron Rajsimha who is so often mentioned in the epilogues is not the Western Kshatrap king Rudrasinha, nor the King Rājasimha of the south who ruled in 700 A D, but some king of Northern India whose kingdom was bounded by the Himavat on the north and Vindhya on the south and by the two seas on the East and West.

Dramatics and rhetoricians from the twelfth century backwards up to the first, refer to the great name of Bhāsa as a dramatist of established repute and draw upon his plays Sarvānanda, Shāradātanaya (both of 1200 A D) Bhojdeva (11th), Abhinavgupta (10th), Vāmana (8th) have been already referred to. The famous dictum which compares the plot-architecture of Bhāsa with that of a sacred temple comes from Bāna (700 A D) Vākpati of 800 A D refers to Bhāsa as a friend of fire Rajashekhar the author of the anthology cannot be the same man who wrote the three dramas Dandi (600 A. D.) quotes from Bālcharita and Chārudatta. The reference to Bhāsa in the introduction of Mālvikā of Kālidās takes us back to 600 A. D The influence of Bhāsa on Shudraka is too obvious to be set aside The Mrichhakatika of Shudraka is an enlarged edition of Charudatta of Bhāsa, and Shudraka lived by the beginning of the Christian era. Another evi-

dence has been quoted by Ganapati Shāstri from Bhāmaha[1] who is wrongly taken by him to be prior to Sātvahan and thus belonging to 100 B C. But Bhamaha belongs to 800 A. D. because he presupposes the Kāshikā and the Nyāsakār both belonging to 700 A D.[2]

The lower limit of the date is fixed by Kālidās. The upper date is also definitely fixed by the Nirvāna of Lord Budha (543 B C) The deprecatory remark about the Budhistic monks (Nagnandhashramanakah in A V.), the use of the word Shramana and not of Pravrjit, the references to Rajgriha, Venuvan and Nāgvan that rose into prominence with Budhism take Bhāsa long after Budha. The society of his times though under Brahmanic influence dreaded always the onset of the two heretic faiths, the Budhism and the Jainism. The Metathetic confusion of king Brahmadatta and his capital Kāmpilya made by Vidushaka in S. V is clearly due to his knowledge of the Jātaka stories The poet must have lived, therefore, long after Budhism had deeply planted its foot and was gradually making an onward march. Another support is lent to this by the reference to the king Darshaka[3] of the Shaishunāg dynasty (500 B. C) whose name must have taken a long time after his death to be incorporated in a dramatic play

The archaic or the un-Paninian[4] forms of grammar cannot take Bhāsa prior to Panini Though Panini lived

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1 हतोऽनेन मम भ्राता मम पुत्र. पिता मम ।

काव्यालंकार of भामह and प्रतिज्ञा.

2 Prof Phatak

3. एपा खलु महाराजदर्शकस्य भगिनी पद्मावती नाम. S V.

4 काशिराज्ञे, गृह्य, आपृच्छ्य, रुद्यते, एपो लभेत् , छिद्यते, गर्जसे.

and wrote his grammar in the 700 B C still it is not that the grammar at once attained fame as soon as it was written It took a long time to settle and to become an authoritative book which it did not certainly do before Patanjali, who as tradition says, took to writing his Mahābhāshya because the old books had become obsolete

The verse[1] which is common to both the Arthashāstra and the Pratidnyā might possibly have been borrowed by both from some common source because a book of drama will never be laid under by such a puritan writer as Chānakya and that too in a work on politics and not on rhetorics Besides the Arthashāstra is not credited with such a great antiquity by some scholars on the score of its divergence from the account of the Indikā of Megasthnes and the writer's geographical vision being confined to Southern India We for ourselves think that the Natyashāstra of Bharat, the Arthashāstra of Chānakya and Kāmshāstra of Vatsyāyam appear characteristically to be similar and must therefore have been the outcome of the same times and tendency. They all are secondary compositions, half-metrical, half-prose based upon ancient treatises of sutra-type. The occurrence of the word Surūnga which is derivable from the Greek Syrinx sets the Nātyashāstra down as a post-Gracian composition.

The passage in the mouth of Rāvana in the Pratimā is very significant It is not simply a bragging utterance. It refers to " Mānaviyam Dharmashāstrām " the date of which is pretty certainly fixed from 200 B. C to 200 A. D.

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1 नव शराव सलिलस्य पूर्णं सुसंस्कृत दर्भकृतोत्तरीयम्
तत्तस्य मा भूनरकं च गच्छेत् योभर्तृपिण्डस्य कृते न युद्धेत
प्र. IV and अर्थ शा.

(Dr. Bühler).[1] Bhāsa, therefore, comes after the compilation of Mānava-dharma shāstra (200 B. C). The theory about Rāma being the incarnation of Vishnu which is referred to in the Nāndi of A. V. but which did not come in vogue up to the time of Patanjali and certainly not at the time of Pānini who refers to Vāsudeo and Arjuna but not to Rāma, was not accepted at the time of the Rāmāyana; and the Rāmāyana is dated at somewhere prior to the Mahābhārata that refers to Rāma's story. Bhāsa naturally, therefore, comes after the composition of Rāmāyana. The plots of A V., S V. and Pratidnyā are found in the two later Sanskrit adaptations of the original Brihatkathā in Paishāchi belonging to Gunādhya of 100 A. D. But nothing is gained from this argument because it is not certain that Bhāsa modelled his plays on Brihatkathā It is possible that he may have taken the plots from the folklore then existing Bhāsa, therefore, must have lived before Kālidāsa and after the composition of Mānavadharmashāstra, and Rāmāyana, after the Rāma-incarnation theory came into vogue. The date falls between 200 B. C. and 600 A. D. and as Kālidāsa refers[2] to him as an old ancient writer Bhāsa must have lived long prior to him; before Ashwaghosha whose Prākrits are assuredly and unquestionably so akin in character The profuse use of short metres and the scanty use of the long ones and his pre-Bharat dramatic technique are other arguments in favour of the priority of Bhāsa to Ashwaghosa Bhāsa's. Chāru-

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1 भो काश्यपगोत्रोऽस्मि साङ्गोपाङ्गम् वेदमधीये मानवीयं धर्मशास्त्रं माहेश्वर योगशास्त्रं बार्हस्पत्यमर्थशास्त्रं मेधातिथेर्न्यायशास्त्रं प्राचेतसं श्राद्धकल्पं च

2 प्राप्यावन्तीनुदयनकथाकोविदग्रामवृद्धान्। (मे.)

datta has been drawn on profusely by Shudraka belonging to 100 B C Bhāsa lived definitely in 200 B C

The above discussion is enough to dislodge from their position those scholars who notice in the present plays signs of the times as late as 700 A. D[1] and support it on the strength of Mattavilās-prahasan of Mahendravarman, a Pallava King They have got two arguments, one about the patron-Rājasimha referred to in the Bharat-vākyas and the other about the Prākrits The first has already been dealt with The purity of the ancient Mss depends much upon the copyists The Prākrits of Bhāsa do show some clear signs of antiquity even after making due allowance for the neglegence and the caprice of the copyists The archaisms pointed out and the conclusions arrived at by Dr Suktankar who put them to scientific test are noteworthy '‡

Some scholars[2] put Bhāsa as early as 500 B C on the strength of the pre-Paninian archaisms and the verse that is found both in Pratidnyā and the Arthashāstra the author of which is put by them to be posterior to Bhāsa Both these points are dealt with already

The tradition contained in the line* cannot be given any credence as it will necessitate the identity between Bhāsa and Dhāvaka and consequent contemporaneity with Harsha on the strength of the line+ but about whose

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1 Barnelt, Deodhar, Pishoratis and Raddi
2 Ganapati Shastri, Khuperkar

* धावकोऽपि हि यद्भासः कवीनामग्रिमोऽभवत् ।

+ श्रीहर्षादेर्धावकादीनामिव धनम् । K P

‡1 The promiscuous use of the doubts—अह्माअं, अह्माणं,
2 अर्ह with unassimilated conjunct rh

patronage to Bhāsa both Bāna and HuenTsang are silent This identity between Harsha and Bhāsa is again supported by the similarity both verbal and conceptional along with the verses that have been alleged to be from the Kavivimarsha of Rājshekhara. 'But the attempt is described as subversive of the accepted chronology of the Indian writers'

Some again doubt the authenticity of the plays on the ground of the crudity and puerility of them which they say is impossible to be harmonized with the encomiums showered upon the poet by Kālidāsa and others. But that very puerility of the plays indicates the stage prior to those of Kālidāsa and Harsha The pity is that Kālidāsa and other poets could not have pre-guaged their greatness before they were actually great

Bhāsa wrote thirteen plays that formed his Nātak-Chakra, the composition of which shows three clear periods in his poetic career During the first, the one-act plays like Madhyam-Vyāyog, Dootvākya, Dutghatotkacha, Karna-bhāra, were composed The second shows a little advance in plot-construction in Panchrātra, Pratidnyā and Chāru-datta The third is a period of finished products as typified by Ch Pratimā, S V, A V The plays fall into two divisions, (1) The epic-purānic (2) The folklore or the saga

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3 अहंक not used in any other mss, found once in Bhāsa, noticed by Varuchi.

4 आम archaic found in the Turfan mss "yes"

5 करिअ occurs also in Turfan mss and therefore archaic

6. क्स्सि, क्श्शि, द्स्सि, द्श्शि.

7 त्त्तु.

8 Pronouns तुवं and वअं sanctioned by Vararuchi.

plays, the best in him being disclosed in the first as regards both the conception of a theme and the execution of it, while in the latter the conception being too dominant and powerful for the execution With more research the remaining acts of Chārudatta and some more plays that are referred to will be discovered

The debt, both conceptional and verbal, that the later writers owe to Bhāsa is immense Shudraka has planned his whole drama on Bhāsa's Chārudatta The sameness of story, character, language are too clear signs to deny copying The only departure consists in removing the defects of crudity The wearing of bark-garments of Sitā in Pratimā and of Shakuntalā in Shāk, the recognition of Vatsa and Sak, the watering of plants, are some of the numberless similarities between Kālidasa and Bhāsa Bhavbhuti has taken the picture scroll in S. V and the capture of Kurungi in A. V and set them in his U R and M M The variety and the bluntness of characters that we meet with in Panchrātra is shown by Bhatta Nārāyan The whole plot-texture and the romance of the scene are copied by Harsha in his two sister plays The scene of Chandandās and his son is modelled upon a similar scene in Urubhanga

THE PRATIDNYĀ-YOUGANDHARĀYANA :—This play extends over four acts The whole drama is a short representation But even in this short compass, the action makes a very rapid progress The story was held in high esteem on account of its romance The attractive features of the original story are clothed in still more attractive garb and when there was some link missing it has been supplied by the poet The action in the first act takes long strides and the same pace is kept up even in the

succeeding acts. Characterization is not attempted; poetic muse is not invoked These things are there but have been treated as quite subservient to the main thing viz. the plot or the action The originality of the poet does not lie in the invention of the plot because it was already there nor in the idealization of the action but lies in adding motion to the plot, in making it look like ordinary incident of daily occurence and rendering it adaptable to the stage. How has he achieved this? Chiefly by means of dialogues The characters talk rapidly without using a single superfluous word Every word, every move, every gesture, makes towards the final achievement.

Just at the out-set, there seems to be an error about the identity between Pradyota and Mahāsena Bhāsa identifies the two—Mahāsena of Ujjain and Pradyota of Magadha. Shri Harsha has fallen into the same error, while the Brihatkathā makes a distinction between the two, and gives two different daughters who are afterwards wedded to the king The above error is due to the sameness of romantic atmosphere in which both Vāsavadattā and Padmāvati breathe

In the first act the business is monopolised by Yougandharāyana while in the second it is Mahāsena that does it The various attempts made by the father to find out suitors for Vāsavadattā are shown in the second act Various messengers come to his court, ask for the hand of his daughter on behalf of their masters Bharatrohak catches Vatsa alive by a very skilful plan—wooden elephant The name of Vatsarāj is very dramatically introduced to the king when in an axious moment he is taking stock of all his high relatives and seeing whether there is any proper suitor for his daughter The scene does not change in this act

The third act deals with Vidushaka, Shramanaka and Yougandharāyana giving the humour in the first part and seriousness in the second. The humour as usual turns upon the sweet-balls and the struggle for them between Vidushaka and Unmattaka The humour is very crude as compared with that in other dramas Other vidushakas talk upon sweet-balls but the discussion is interspersed here and there with his wise and witty remarks and is also accompanied with his being involved in the love affair of his friend. All this is not found in the Vidushaka of Bhāsa

The third act presents a good scene in which the two ministers of the king hold a conference Both of them present themselves in the different garbs and have to save their incognito appearance. When they find the Agnigrha to be quite devoid of men, they speak out their hearts and think upon a plan for the rescue of their master

The fourth act depicts Gātrasevak and his drunkenness, the interview of the two hostile ministers, the capturing of Yougandharāyan, the flight of Vatsa with the princess and the final marriage It commences with a praveshak which is meant to carry some hints about the elopement of Vatsarāj with Vāsavdattā which is the Kārya of the piece

CHARACTERS —Yougandharāyan is faithful and dutiful to his master He works for the good and the prosperity of his master by means of a marriage alliance But he appears too much on the scene, talks too much of his powers, swears too much to achieve his ends and ultimately is not able to put forth as much as he promises. The goal is attained not through the agency of his powers but through the powers of the king and through the laxity shown by the opposite party in their manouvers The

other party is deliberately treacherous to its own cause and within its own ranks. Yougandharāyana towards the end looks like a defeated man whose cause is baffled by the superior machinations of his adversary Bharatarohaka who makes his appearance before him when he is taken as captive Harsha's Yougandharāyana does not brag so much. He is as keen in his devotion to his master, as vigilant in securing his prosperity and as ingenious in inventing new means and methods for bringing near the king's wedlock The remarkable thing about him is that he makes his appearance at the opening of the play and then disappears to appear towards the end of the action. He remains behind the curtain and pulls the wires by which all the characters move and talk. Bhāsa's Yougandharāyan is on the stage all the while, makes a great show of spreading a net-work of spies and wants to resemble Chānakya but therein he fails. In the first place the cause is not a worthy one, secondly he has not that tact and power of organization of Chānakya. By his multifarious activities he wants to pass off as a man of action but his utterances and achievements point to a different direction He is a fatalist. He is always prepared to give the enemy his due [1] He is vain when he compares him with Drouni [2] He is roused to his sense of honour and dignity as a minister by the utterance of the king's mother and quite in a sentimental and a sensational mood he takes water in his hand and lets it down vowing[3] He is outwitted by Mahāsena He is non-plussed when he hears that the device of escape he had suggested cannot

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1. साधु भोः शालङ्कायन साधु । अवस्था खलु नाम शत्रुमपि सुहृत्वे कल्पयति.

2 गुरोरवाजितं हत्वा शान्तं द्रौणिमिव स्थितम्

3 मोचयामि न राजानं नास्मि यौगन्धरायणः

be availed of since the King had cast a love-glance on the princess and could not, therefore, approve of his unworthy device He does not stop to think the feasibility or practicability of his schemes His impetuous nature, his inconsiderateness are seen in the number of vows and swearings. Emotional he is throughout the play The pratidnyā or the vow stares at him to a syllable and he cannot allow time to pass He joins the fray, withholds the rushing tide of the tornado and ultimately gets himself bound over to the enemy in chains quite boastfully and jubilantly[1] Further, he is face to face with his compeer Bharatrohaka who comes there in a triumphant mood He takes a compassionate view of his opponent and removes the iron manacles The interview between two ministers reminds one of a similar scene between Chānakya and Rākshasa when the latter was baffled in his attempts and was won over to the side of Vrishala Chandragupta.

Mahāsena has a good minister in Bharatrohaka He is inimical towards Vatsa whom he wishes to subjugate and to give him a good turn. It is for the sake of his daughter that he wants to capture Vatsa, which he does very skilfully in consultation with his minister Bharatrohak, by the device of wooden-elephant and thus exploiting the hunting instinct of Vatsa He is anxious for the marriage of his daughter There is a sudden change in his feelings towards his enemy. He orders his men to dress up his wounds, to receive him with honour and hospitality due to a prince, to give his favourite lute in charge of

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1 जितमिति राजकुले सुख विशामि । and
प्राप्तो जयश्च नृपतिश्च महाश्च शब्द ।

his daughter. He finally removes him to Manibhūmikā for keeping him away from the sun He himself is unable to explain this sudden change in the attitude.

Vatsa is a king that commands full confidence and respect of his people and his ministers. He has a very trusted and devoted minister He is very much fond of games and hunting which is the cause of his capture.

Swapna-Vāsavadattā·—This drama contains the same initial cry intended to hush up the noise in the audience and to prepare them for the advent of the characters. The characters are never ushered in without previous intimation to the audience. The praveshakas are very short. They introduce only some characters. The second act contains a beautiful and interesting scene. It begins in humerous references to Padmāvati's personal charms, made by the new foster-sister Vāsavadattā and the fun, started by her, recoils upon her quite unconsciously She learns that the king Vatsa asked for her hand and that she was already betrothed by the king to Vatsa who had gone there on special mission and that the ceremony was to be performed that very day

The match is suggested just in the beginning of the act and it is performed by the end of it The poet has not given any time for the love to grow The mention of Vatsa's name is causal and much has been made of this casual reference The second act achieves much in comparison with its length The match may have been desired and attempted at the consent of the queen because she is a willling party to the scheme formed by Yougandharāyana in order to secure the prosperity of Vatsa Vāsavadattā comes to know that Padmāvati has begun to cast lovefully greedy glances on her husband She sees

before her own eyes the marriage taking place It may be that from a distinctly prospective point of view, she may be a party in effecting the maraiage, still the natural female jealousy for a partner in love takes hold of her and makes her restive in emotion[1] Every thing is done in post-haste that even the characters are not prepared for the issue Such rapidity in the progress of events creates an impression of unnaturalness about them. The law of causation takes some time for its fruition. The disturbance in Vāsavadattā's mental quietude is visible in the third act Morose as she is, she is called upon to put together a garland with two mysterious herbs effective of अविधवाकरण and सपत्नीमर्दन (for sceuring long life to her husband and humilition of co-wife) Vāsavadattā does it with complete resignation She sacrifices her pride and vanity, sacrifices her strong desire of having no coparcener in her love at the altar of her husband's prospective prosperity

The whole action centres round the minister. The idea contained in the prophecy about the matrimonial alliance between the families of Darshaka and Vatsa occurs to him first He is not so serious about the actual marriage as he is about securing the prosperity by the acquisition of the lost kingdom The marriage is a matter of expediency The king even is very unwilling as far as marriage is concerned Every one vouchsafes an openion in favour of Vāsavdattā when the comparison comes The fourth act presents a scene which is highly sentimental, highly poetic, and dramatic and at the same time highly practical The appearance of the king and his friend, their discussion about the relative merits of the

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1 यथा यथा हि त्वरते तथा तथाऽन्धीक्रियते मे हृदयम् ।

two, the exit of Vāsavadattā which is both emotional and dramatic, are the good points in it.

This play also gives some bright flashes of the poet's imagination The minister and the heroine of Udayana present themselves under a different garb suitable to hermitage life The two items, the introduction of Vāsavadattā in the service of Padmāvati and the report of burning to death of them both in the Lāvanak fire are exhibited in the sequel The queen enters into the service very easily through Tāpasi and the Cheti who are struck with her inherent royal lustre The report of the fire is brought by a celibate of the Rājgrha. The concocted report is listened to by the minister with such a rapt attention and with such an unaffected ignorance that they show that he was a consummate master in the art of affectation

The news of the loss of the queen and the king's fervent regard for her, are disclosed to Padmāvati, the bride elect in whose heart rises a sly hidden desire for wedlock

Another striking feature is the power of his narratives The Brahmachārin narrates the incident of fire in Rājgrha in the Lāvanak palace very vividly and impressively Hamsaka in the Pratidnyā shows the same skill

The dream-scene is placed in the last act The king is led to the Samudragrha where Padmāvati is being treated for her headache Avantikā is there who has the power of allaying the poignancy of the ache. The king is amused by the simple stories of kings and towns told by Vidushaka and is lulled to sleep when he dreams of Vāsavadattā She is there in the garb of Avantikā and she takes up the hints and answers the querries uttered in

his dream. The king further on calls back all the former incidents the lute, the diciple, the way of instruction, her singing and the picture-board sent to him The enigma is solved when the picture-board is shown to Padmāvati The marriage then takes place

PRATIMĀ.— The drama receives its name from the statue of Dasharath which Bharata sees in the statue house. It has got seven acts and it covers a period of fourteen years from Rāma's setting out to forest to his triumphant return from Lankā. There is an irony of situation created by the Valkala—bark-garments They are introduced by way past-time, as ornaments—just to see how they fit in with Sitā But those very garments are turned very cruelly to this account *viz* the accessories of hermitage life which Rāma is called upon to accept[1] The three boons of Kaikeyi are gradually introduced The entrance of Laxman and the initial retort which he gives to his elders reminds one of Bhima in Veni-S Laxman is so very wroth that he is bent upon extirpating the whole female race

The woeful condition consequent upon the bereavement by the two sons and Sitā is very vividly described in the second act The whole scene is a picturesque and graphic description given with an ineffable power The drama presents a wonderful power of compression on the part of the poet. The scenes in the Rāmāyana, important from the point of view of sentiments are made to pass dramatically before the eyes of the public The day of coronation is with dramatic suddenness transformed into a day of exile The bark-garments that were only

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1 नहर्षार्थंऽनया दत्तान वल्कलान्तावदानय ।

brought in as a source of amusement are turned to account as necessaries of forest life which Sītā is called upon to accept The news of his father's death is gradually revealed to Bharata while he was reviewing the statue-house The mothers are also very skilfully introduced to him in it The anniversary scene is appropriate and natural to details In the forest-stay, the exact time might not have been observed, the proper articles might not have been secured and it gives a natural opportunity to introduce the topic of golden-deer It is essentially required for the Shrādha ceremony and mystically it is presented before Rāma. Rāma goes to hunt and Sītā is abducted by Rāvana The immense gap between the abduction of Sītā and the triumphal return of Rāma is left to the conception of the audience The valkalas, the statue-house, the anniversary scene, the explanation given by Kaikeyi about her line of conduct, the description of scenes through the ærial car are the new changes effected by the poet in the original There is no perceptible departure from the original in point of charecterization The obedience, unflinching determination, love for the family-prestige of Rāma, the fiery temper and brotherly affection of Laxman, the dutifulness, submission and resignation of Sītā, the unbounded filial love of Dasharatha, the sacrifice and despondency of Bharata, the loyalty of Sumantra are there in the Pratimā as well as in the original Rāmāyana There is rehabilitation with regard to Kaikeyi only who is generally held culpable in the affairs of the exile Bhāsa brings in the infallibility of the sage's words of the curse on Dasaratha and relieves Kaikeyi of the severe taint. She says that she was only an instrument and that she had no personal or selfish motive in sending off Rāma, and she would have even sent Bharata

but that he was already away with his uncle and the word "years" slipped through her lips instead of "days" and the wonder is that she is freed from all the taint by the simple Bharata It is made pathetic with the presence of Kausalyā and Sumitrā

Bharata learns about his father's death which is revealed to him gradually in the statue house His mothers meet him there The fourth act deals with Bharata's return and the coronation of Rāma's sandals Rāvana comes as a mendicant and carries away Sitā. The anniversary of the father comes in here An explanation is offered by Kaikeyi regarding the woeful eventuality of Rāma's exile. Jatāyu is killed in the sixth act and Bharata resolves upon proceeding to Lankā for Rāma's succour. In the last act Rāma comes back from Lankā after putting his enemy to death He is crowned in the end

"The unrivalled merit of Bhāsa lies in the delineation of the real nature of things in their varied conditions by sweet, apt and lucid words suggestive of lofty ideas In the Pratimā the central sentiment is the धर्मवीर mingled with करुणरस, the धर्मवीर manifesting itself in the enthusiasm displayed by the hero in cherishing the single thought of carrying out the Dharma—fulfilling the mandates of his father"[1]

BHĀSA'S CHARACTERISTICS —He aims at direct action and not at characterization, nor in plot-construction There is the appropriateness of speech and character The characters never talk more nor less Rapidity, force, vigour are the features of his style His greatness is in narrative and dialogue He has got a host of characters

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1 T Ganapati Shastri Pratima

in his plays. Each character has his own sphere of influence wherein it shines and does not clash with another. The characters live a plain, straight-forward life They are all robust, healthy beings, bent upon to look to the brighter aspects of the world They are less vigorous and more individualistic than those in Venisamhār, less romantic and imaginative than those of Kālidās and of Bāna, less poetic and sentimental or emotional than those of Bhavabhūti, less homely than those of Shri–Harsha, less practical than those of Vishākhadatta and are less human and less realistic than those of Shudraka

The marvellousness of prose which is the real merit in a poet is seen in Bhāsa The language is very simple, natural and at the same time touching, alternated with figures of speech like simile and metaphor. He is the master of dialogues

There are inaccuracies in grammar and rhetorics such as the metathetic exchange of words, wrong joints and compounds, elision of compound-endings. Some verses are quite devoid of sentiment or poetic strength. The sentences are replete with wealth of ideas The sweetness of expression and the ease of langnage seem to have attained perfection in these dramas.

(2) SHUDRAKA

Mrichhkatika. (The Social drama)

Just on the heels of Chārudatta of Bhāsa comes up the Clay-cart of Shudrak Between the two plays there is so very close affinity both verbal and conceptual, both of characters and situations that one appears to be an enlarged and revised edition of the other and that it has led Pischel to ascribe the play to Bhāsa The material of

both the plays has been scientifically tested and sifted and the conclusions arrived at prove that "Bhāsa intended to write more than the four extant acts of Chārudatta, that Chārudatta is not an abridgment for the purpose of stage-representation of the lengthier Clay-cart The motives underlying the additions and improvements in the Clay-cart are first an exhibition of the author's knowledge and familiarity with highly technical and out-of-the-way shāstras, secondly an introduction of the low-life realism, thirdly, the addition of a political bye-plot, and lastly an appeal to the pit by means of broad and rollicking humour All this also proves the priority of Bhāsa to Shudraka[1]".

The play is attributed to a regal author, a thing which is not of uncommon occurrence in Sanskrit literature The Ratnāvali and the other sister drama are ascribed to a bard of similar dignity The point whether Shudraka, the Monarch, was the patron or the poet is immaterial to the chronology of the play The poet and the patron, whether the same or different personalities, must have lived at one and the same time It is very difficult to prove the historicity of the king Shudraka, the author, from the references made to him in ancient books They on the other hand point at his being a mythic figure, and not a historical one The prelude to the play refers to him in terms of the remote past tense (परोक्षे लिट्) and describes him as having studied the Vedic lore and also the art of enticing an elephant like the king Udayana His sight was restored through the favour of god Shiva. He had performed an Ashwamedha sacrifice and finally consigned himself to fire He was the foremost among the fighters and also a vedicist.

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1 Dr Belwalkar n c v

There are then authors from Abal-Fazal back to Bāna who refer to Shudraka. The Aini-Akabari says that Shudraka reigned for 91 years. Rajashekhara attributes the authorship of Shudraka-Katha to two joint authors Ramilla and Somilla.[1] Kshirswāmi talks of him as a friend of Agni and as a Shālivāhana Bāna makes him the hero of his romance and says of him in his Harshacharita that Shudraka with the help of his emissaries deprived Chandraketu, the lord of Chakoras and his minister of their lives The Rājtarangini sets him beside the king Vikramāditya. Shobhavati was his capital and he lived for hundred years according to Vetālpanchvishi. The Skandapurāna puts him as the first of Āndhrabhrityas. It says in the Kumārikākānda that a great king named Shudraka would reign in the year 3290 of Kali (which comes approximately to 190 A D) and further on identifies him with the founder of the Āndhrabhritya dynasty. Col Wilford on the authority of the Matsya-Purāna holds that "the first Āndhra King reigned about 456 years earlier than the last Pulimata who died in 648 A. D. He first deposed his master, the last of the Kanva dynasty to whom he was a minister and succeeded to the throne, thus founding the Āndhra dynasty of Magadha Kings"

Not much reliance can be placed on the evidence of chronology recorded in the Purānas, firstly because the calculation of chronology is not scientific, secondly because very rarely they tally with one another, thirdly in this particular case "it invalidates the popular notion that Shudraka preceded Vikramāditya and consequently lived in 100 B C"[2] The chronological data and identifi-

1 They were predecessors of Kalidasa according to Levi
2 Dr Bhandarkar

cation of Shudraka with Balhita or Sindhuka or Māhākarni to whom the circumstances in the purānas are attributed are by no means satisfactory The theory put forward by Col Wilford does not hold because Pulimata could not have died in 648 A D because he was a contemporary of Ptolemy who wrote his Periplus in 151 B C. The chronology can be put as under · The Mauryan dynasty was extinguished in 185 B C. and was followed by Sunga and Kanvas who ruled for 112 years Shimuka, therefore, the founder of the Āndhrabhrityas began his reign in 73 B C" The earliest date is fixed by Bhāsa (whom we have put in 200 B C) because his Chārudatta has inspired the poet to write his play. The later date is fixed by Avaloka of Dhanika who was a literary man at the court of Parmara king, Munja of Malva (974-995) Shudraka has been much drawn on by Vāmana (800 A D)[1]

The internal evidence in favour of the antiquity of the play is over-whelming The obscure words, the extensive use of the Prākrits—the favourite languages of the Āndhras, the absence of the knowledge of the rules of poetry and the society depicted, point to the same conclusion "The style though not meagre is in general simple and unartificial and of a day evidently preceding the elaborate richness of Sanskrit writing" The Prākrits are certainly older than those used by Kālidāsa in his plays The Sanskrit in the play shows that the play belonged to a period when Sanskrit was gradually ceasing to be a spoken language of the people, which it did completely after the time of Patanjali (140 B C.)

There are other points which when put together establish the antiquity of the play The custom

1. शूद्रकादिरचितेषु प्रबंधेषु अस्य भूयान् प्रपंचः दृश्यते ।

Pralhāda There can be no good reason why he should not have cited Purāna The author must have been acquainted with the Purānas as with the epics We have, therefore, good reason to suspect that the play must have been written prior to the composition of the Purānas or at least before the stories they contain had acquired by their aggregation familiar and popular currency"[1] The Purānas, especially the bulk of them though excepting some few, came to be written in the age of Sanskrit renaissance during the period of the Gupta dynasty.

The heroes of the political bye-plot in the play Gopāla Pālaka and Āryaka are mentioned by Bhāsa Pālaka according to Jain Hari-vamsa (400 B C) was enthroned in the time of the last Teerthankar Mahāvira (600 B C) The events in the political revolution belong to a period shortly after Budha's death (543 B. C) "Shudraka is historical because he must be the Ābhira prince Shivdatta who or whose son Ishwarsena is held by Dr Fleet, to have overthrown the last of the Āndhras and to have founded the Chedi era of 248-9 A D which is supported by the play."[2] There is the word Nānaka used in the play and which as Weber says is derived from the coins of Kanerki who reigned about 40 A D

Two dates are thus advanced for Shudraka, viz 200 A D and 100 B C of which the latter can be accepted as more reliable on the strength of the references about the Āndhra king, the indentification of the two, the ancient Prākrits, and the high antiquity of the society painted

The writer is a divotee of Shiva and Gāuri and seems to be a follower of the Sānkhyan philosophy He men-

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1 Wilson, Theatre 2 Konow

out he comes. Here in this play there is no sense of sadness at the beginning to attract and to fix the eyes and mind of the audience—which is very essential. Tension must be there at the beginning which this introduction perfectly lacks.

The introduction and the subsequent dialogue on poverty speak much on the condition of the people In the whole drama there appears to be the social background rendered very terrible on account of the revolution —political, social and also economic The people were reduced to poverty. Men of the status of Sutradhāra. Chārudatta appear starving and crying for food. The introductory scene is very effective in making a good impression on the minds of the people of the surrounding economic evil condition Sharply enough has this scene of poverty been contrasted with the scene that follows in which lewdness and looseness of characters and dissoluteness and dissipation of passions run rampant If in the first part the Sutradhāra appears with his inordinate appetite and Chārudatta appears bewailing the onset of evil days, in the second, the Shakāra, Vita and Cheta appear chasing a harlot Chārudatta is forsaken by his friend and flatterers and prefers death to the ill-betied and ill-fated life The good sense of the grace of the audience must have been very seriously struck by the contrast between the altogether different aspects of the society—poverty and lewdness The audience must have been pained to find that even in the times of common evil there were people who never could see beyond the satisfaction of the sensual lust of the beastly instinct.

In addition to this pleasant contrast between the two widely divergent angles of vision with which the people

are looking at the surrounding society, the first act also prepares the audience for the political situation that is to follow. 'There was something rotten in Denmark" was a fact of common credence and the rottenness not only extended to the domain of politics but even of society.

The scene of Shakār and his friends proceeds, and in the course of it they make advances of love to the hatera who spurns them and tries to turn their minds from her person to her ornaments,[1] when there was every danger of her being molested. The device of hers suggests the main item in the act. Those very ornaments are deposited with Chārudatta, which event is told in the sequel and which, therefore, gives a name to the act (Alankārnyāsa).

The simpletonness of Shakāra or the streak of bravado serves a great purpose in the advancement of plot and for his lapses into it he gets a smart reprimand from his friends Just in a similar frenzy he refers to the incident of romance and the first glances of love between Chārudatta and Vasantsenā and by the bye the exact locality of the residence of Chārudatta slips from his lips which is very consoling to Vasantsenā who was waiting for some expedient to extricate herself from the terrible love-making of Shakāra The whole first act gives alternating situations in the scenes Seriousness and lightness, steadfastness and lewdness, hard pathos and rollicking humour appear by turns and remove the tiresomeness of the act. One party is disgusted with the world and its inmates and the other party does not believe or bother even that there is any such thing as sincerity or lightness His whole philosophy which he does not know but which is

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1 आर्ये, अस्मात् किमप्यलकरणं तर्क्यते ।

clear from his ways consists in that the life has to be lived because it has to be lived and for no other exterior, interior or ulterior motive

The scented garment[1] is used as an expedient by the poet to make known to the heroine that the heart of Chārudatta though much afflicted under poverty was not averse to the thought of love or to the enjoyments of youthful life[1] The garment scented with flowers is sent to him by his old friend Churnavridha who along with it sends blessings. The same garment is given by Chārudatta to Vasantsenā and asks her to wrap his dear son Rohasena from the cool pinching breeze, mistaking all the while that the person whom he was asking to do so was Radanikā and no one else.

The introduction of the garment is so very natural that we do not feel its importance There is no fuss, no artificiality made about it but all the same it achieves a good deal, in unfolding the love between the two We wish some more emphasis were placed on its introduction The bakul-mālā in the Malati-Madhao, the union gem in Vikramorvas'hiya or the ring in Shākuntala and Mudrārākshasa are similar incidents—similiar expedients but there is a definite attempt—intended emphasis made by the poets to bind the minds of the people to them.

The first act begins with the enchaining of the two hearts under the auspices of Kāmdeo and ends with the depositing of the ornaments The exchange of glances of love between the two and the consequent enamouring were known to the lewd circles in the society. It is a

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अम्महे जादी कुसुमवासिदो पावारओ अणुदासीण सेज्जोव्वण पडिहासेदि

wonder how this fact is not known to Madanikā who puts a number of questions to Vasantsenā about the discomfiture of her heart with which the second act opens. Further, a street broil is shown between a gambler and a keeper of the gambling house who persues the former for the recovery of the price of the wager. The Samvāhaka, the shampooer, the keeper of the house, Māthur the dyūtakar and typical specimens of the scum of the society and the pastime which they take delight in, the loss in that, the consequent flight of the vanquished, the pursuit by the successful, the taking of resort in a temple, the tracing of the track of the run-away by means of the foot-prints or the drops of blood falling from his nose are all naturally described That Samvāhaka who learnt the art of shampooing only for art's sake turns it to account as a means of livelihood, and joins the gang of gamblers by a stroke of misfortune, then loses and runs. By the bye, he makes references to the highly charitable nature of Chārudatta which secures for him a welcome shelter in the lodgings of Vasantsenā. She is much enamoured of the charms of Chārudatta since their first meeting in the garden of the god of love and she lavishes her best gifts on whosoever happens to make the slightest reference to the manifold aspects of his magnanimity.

The last incident of the act creates some more consternation, the elephant of Vasantsenā having got loose and *running* amock through the streets of Ujjain. Karnapūraka displays great valour in bringing the wild elephant under control and releasing from off his teeth the poor mendicant, the Budhistic votary This incident is similar to the elephant—incident in the Mālati Madhao in which Makarand shows himself off so very valliantly, or

similar to the monkey—incident in Ratnāvali in which that odiously monstrous animal plays a havoc in the royal household Such incidents are always introduced in plays with a view to unfolding some chivalrous qualities of of the principal characters, of giving a touch of romance to the incident But in this elephant—incident Shudraka has not introduced Chārudatta The reason of non-appearance of him is obvious in as much as the poet rivets his attention on the merits of charity and, therefore, makes all the incidents converge on it It was not his intention to display his manly virtues. The scented garment, the main expedient of solace and union, has been brought in as a gift to Karnapūraka—the menial of Vasantsenā. The poet employs subsidiary, humorous incidents but he takes care to see that the audience are not completely lost in them, and keeps on reminding them of the principal threads of the incident by making casual, passing reference here and there

In this act, Darduraka is really a नगरचत्वरवृषभ, bullying the poor people, patronising falsely, intervening into broils and making them worse or creating new ones where there are none It is but natural that he should have the clue in the political revolution[1]

The scene of the singing party of Rebhila, besides showing the gaity of nature of Chārudatta even in poverty, prepares the ground for another scene by indicating the late hour at which Chārudatta was returning, the devotion with which his attendants were awaiting his arrival Sharvilaka breaks the house in the following seene The thief seems

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[1] कथित च मम प्रियवयस्येन शार्विलकेन यथा आर्यकनामा गोपालदारक सिद्धादेशेन समादिष्ट राजा भविष्यति इति ।

too unpractised and impractical in his new profession to which he was driven by the extravagance of his habits. In support of his devilish design the devotee of Kārtikeva quotes from sacred literature Satan does always quote from the Bible He takes measurements of the tiles and bricks, the sandhi and its four divisions, puts water in the cracking hinges, sounds the hollowness of the underground by casting bija and thus treats his subject of thieving on scientific lines

The fourth act presents incidents that are commonly found in other dramas, *e. g* the portrait of the lover, the call from her mother, the break in the lovely talk. The act also develops the sub-plot of Madanikā and Sharvilaka and hints the political situation It gives a long poetic description of the eight-storied mansion of the harlot-princess, of the furniture—the painting, tamed birds and beasts, and instruments The piece is a specimen of the grand prose of long and balanced periods and exemplifies the poet's power of realism even in style. The description again speaks much of the powers of observation of Vidushaka who is conventionally a non-observant or a mis-observant character in as much as he fails not to see the omnipotence of the articles of his gluttony in everything

The fifth act is termed as Durdina—a rainy day and shows the density of the feeling of love inspite of the impediments of stormy and dreadful weather. The youthful passion is just like a colt galloping unreined and unrestrained by the trammells of decency or conventions—noisy threats of lightening and clouds—and runs its course with complete defiance. The act is the गर्भसंधि in which the action attains to the highest pitch There is a sharp contrast between the tempestuousness of the two elements.

The lyrical element is to be understood in the light of this wide gulf that separates the two storms. The scene proceeds tardily in the beginning and fast at the end so much so that Vasantsenā throws herself in the arms of Chārudatta the moment that she learns about the union of lightening and its lover

The next act is the VimarshaSandhi and presents the policy of obstruction thatched by Shakāra in which fate helps him more than his brains The comedy of errors that is created by the exchange of carts (pravahana-viparyaya) charmingly gives quite an unexpected turn to the incident which otherwise would have remained all accomplished The incident though inconceivable and impossible in some minor details has got a natural appearance about it as a whole. The element of chance has often such a powerful and inexplicable influence in the occurence of ordinary incidents that it baffles our expectations and snatches the cup from our lips. The prize is snatched away from those who deserve and placed in the hands of the undeserving Vasantsenā gets into a wrong cart while the renegade and runaway Āryaka gets into hers. Thus Chārudatta loses Vasantsenā and Shakāra secures her by a happy stroke of fortune

It is clear that there must have been a great plot against the king Pālaka—a plot in which not only his servants, loyal and faithful, but such sedate citizens as Chārudatta saw nothing unceremonious to join and sympathise with the culprits The same incidents continue in the next act

The appearance of the Budhistic mendicant in the next act is not required either by the necessities of the plot or of character Maybe, this order of Budha bhiksus

was looked down upon the common people, any stick was good to strike them with. A bhikshu was taken to be a common stock of laughter and his maltreatment was much enjoyed by the people.

The element of chance works again in favour of Shakāra in the eighth act. He proceeds unaidedly and unguardedly. He is proof against all entreaties and devices of Vita who wants to put him off guard and off scent to protect Vasantsenā The threat of perennial enmity was given to Chārudatta and has been cruelly executed The greatly horrid task of putting Vasantsenā to death was no sooner conceived than dispatched

The sequel turns against him very rapidly. The reaction is both horrid and huge.

CHARACTERIZATION.—The attempt of Shudraka in bringing into being nearly thirty characters is at once novel and striking He has taken a leaf out of the society and has focussed the historical, religious and economical aspects to illustrate the main one His is eminently a social drama and thus it is a mirror to and of the society in which the poet lived and died The characters in the play are all prototypes of human beings of ordinary calibre, maintaining the same level, although always busy in their own narrow activities. Their rigion and vision are both limited Very scarcely does there appear a towering personality The world is always full of mediocrities and nonentities Among all the galaxy of thirty characters, it is Chārudatta and Vasantsenā only who elbow their companions in the world and rise above them by their sublimity, nobility and sacrifice. But live they must amongst the pigmies of their race who see nothing beyond their own selfish interests. The

whole machinery of the play is set to work automatically, every one being given a function to discharge. There is neither sloth as to procedure nor dense a headedness as to the conception of means They all exhibit wonderful dynamic tendency Sharvilaka breaks open the house, steals the gold vessel but amends are made the moment that the breach is effected. Āryaka escapes from the confines and there is a conveyance kept in reserve for him. Shakāra the swindler with whom we expect some embarrassment or mental aberration rises to the occasion, throttles Vasantasenā, covers her with leaves and runs to the court. There is no time lost Even minor characters as Sthāvaraka and Cheta, though they are fettered, never afford to lose any time in bringing into light the atrocious deed done in the dark by their master It is this dynamic activity on the part of the characters that adds to the rapid growth of the plot-organization

There are some lapses into impropriety Sharvilaka is typically a sentimental youth, very much inferior to Chārudatta in the qualities of both heart and head but he is made to utter the epilogue which legitimately must come from authoritative lips Ordinarily we wish Āryaka to appear and pronounce the Bharatavākya

Chārudatta laments on the evil course that his fortune takes He is so much disgusted with the ways of the world and with the sudden change, that he prefers death to the wretched life Though he is maltreated by the cruel hand of fate still his strong belief in gods is not shaken and though he is constantly advised to refrain from worshipping the mātris on the ground that the worship not only is not fructifying but positively harmful still he sticks on to it. ' Even in his poverty-stricken

circumstances he does not relinquish his youthful and costly habits for which he is complimented by Vasantsenā It is his virtues more than his affluence that has inspired a high regard for him in the mind of those who had clung to him in thick and thin. Even in his poverty his charitable nature does not cease to operate. He is pleased with the fine display of valour shown by Karnapuraka and makes him a gift of his garment His fondness for singing parties and appreciation of the display of fine arts speaks much on the gay nature of the man The intensity with which he loves the hatera and the disparagement of himself on account of poverty and the consequent despair of securing her are evident from the beginning but howsoever dense the affection may be, it had for its object one who had kept a price on her person and whose lovely enamourment or enticement was conventionally bound to be a sham one In the middle of the play, even after admitting all the intensity and the genuineness of the sentiment on both the sides we like to question whether it is a good aspect of the society to hold forth before it an instance of a Brahmin youth monetarily broken, in the arms of a city-harlot What a spectacle must it have been! Another weak point in the character of Chārudatta is the succour which he gives to the renegade Aryaka against his king To give shelter to one whose extinction is threatened is obligatory but loyalty to the king is equally obligatory on a true citizen The generosity or liberality of nature with which he lavishes gifts on the spur of the moment, the garment, the ring, the uttarīyaka etc. is another weak point in Chārudatta It was this lavishing nature of Chārudatta that had brought on him the impoverishment. It of course raises him in the estimation of Vasantsenā. He gets blushed when a question as

to his connection with the hatera is put to him It is a weak defence that he has offered—the inconsiderateness being attributed to youth Are the rash follies of youth exempted from tainting the character? His impressiveness, his freedom from sin, his attractive personal charms are quite apparent

Vasantsenā The heroine appears under adverse circumstances Unfortunately she does not belong to the high category of family-women born and bred up on a high pedestal which the commonalty much less the lewd and the dissolute cannot dare to wink at Completely immune are the high-born girls from the poisonous looks of the people Shakuntalā is brought up in the innocent company of deers and hares, Sitā and Mālati are chastity and devine love incarnate. No poisonous taint of earthly love affects them Amongst all the bright specimens of the heroine-world, scarcely is there any one who though endowed with all the virtues and qualities of the higher species, has to labour under tremendous social odds Virtue has its own value but shines the more under adverse circumstances Vasantsenā is by no means inferior to her worthy compeers in point of beauty, eagerness and steadfastness of love though she is not equally fortunate, in being free from the baneful influences in the society that corrode the bashful modesty of the virgins Vasantsenā puts up with all this by her fixedness or resoluteness of sentiment and resignation of will

Shudraka departs from the convention in the creation of his heroine and puts in a hatera in place of a coy maiden The love—its beginning and development—is one stereotyped affair in almost all dramas It is conducted between a maiden and a chivalrous knight The maiden

has to restrain the course of her love from being ventilated It is always on the point of bursting out the dams of convention and decency. In the presence of elderly relations, in the presence of the rightful spouse of the hero, she has to gag her mouth and sentiment The result of such forced gagging is apparent. The strong passion checked inwardly, troubles the concious, un-conscious, and sub-concious rigions of her life, takes away the sap and salt of life Vasantsenā is not put under that handicap Her social status gave her immunity from public censure. She could open her heart to her friends and elders without violating any laws of social deceney or ettiquette The occupation that she followed is appropriately described by Vita comparing her once to a creeper on the way and and to a well at other time fit to be bathed by all alike and to a boat at a third time. She is very sensible to the delicacy of love When she sees Madanikā secretely talking with Sharvilaka, she does not wish to intervene and break the dialogue of love. Rightly has she censured the attitude of Shakra, the god of rain for throwing obstacles in her way, he being no less an ardent lover in the case of Ahalyā. The Cheta and the Vita sympathise with her when she finds herself encompassed and entrapped owing to an unforeseen accident—the exchange of conveyance. People in general have a great regard for her inspite of her low profession. Vita is sorry when she is done to death by the villiainous Shakāra She is a सौजन्यनदी and a दाक्षिण्योदकवाहिनी She has a mother of great fortitude because she bears with the least complacence the tragedy of her daughter's life and instead of avenging it on Chārudatta as any waman would have done tries to save him. Both Chārudatta and Vasantsenā are eminently quick-witted and warm-hearted. Both can

face misfortune with resolution and with a fine capacity for grasping the sympathetic features of the situation Each has the delicacy of feeling, tenderness, the generosity, the tact, the loyalty and the resourcefulness which make them irresistably loveable Vasantsenā has a loyal lover to make love to, and knows all the time that he is in love with her. She can lavish unexpected fascinations on him as she could not have done in her true charactar She has nothing to fear and no one but herself to consider She loves him with self-denying devotion, has to reject the affections of a rival on his behalf, though she knows that the attempt of rejection is ruinous to the interests of both, monetarily, socially and personally Even under the trying conditions, the generosity of both never fails The attempt is made by both loyally, frankly and fearlessly

The Shakāra is an ideal butt. He is perhaps the most foolish person ever presented on the stage Though he is incapable of grasping witticism, he is anxious to pass as a man of parts by quoting from ancient authorities which are evidently mythological absurdities A perfect and entire coward he is fain to believe himself a perfect fire-eater. An obvious lout, he swallows compliments on his personal appearance without the dimmest suspicion. He is a source of endless enjoyment and profit to audience and his fellow-characters who are always gullying him into an uneasy conviction that he may yet compass a marriageable interview with Vasantsenā. He considers himself a knight of good repute, a man of birth, bred up at the court, a relative to the ruling prince Singularly insolent is he to the high in the society. He gives way at every point to sensual habit—glutton, liar, licentious, pro-

fligate and for means to indulge in the coarse pleasures, a cheat, a robber. He is gross of body, diseased by vice. Underneath any disapproval of him lies our enjoyment of his pleasantry, his good but cruel humour, his wily nature, his gay way of taking life, his agility and cheerfulness of mind, his wild exaggerations of lying, the intense enjoyment he feels in his own wit, his collosal ignorance of legendary mythology his power of twisting out of difficulties, his profound understanding of himself, his appreciation of all the faults of his character. When the laugh is over, deserved credit is given to him for the pleasures enjoyed He has the courage of situation. Most men would be ashamed of his condition. He maltreats every one in every direction The prince, and the magistrate do not escape. His brain is quicker than a fencer's sword and with the quickness there is a brilliancy which charms with its surpassing turns of fancy, and even of thought. His soliloquies are important. He comments on himself and on the world, full of self-knowledge and self-excuse, exaggerating into excellences his vices for his private amusement, discussing with himself how much honour is worth chuckling over his cheating of Chārudatta. There is malice in him, cowardice in him, envy in him, hatred, injuriousness, rudeness, and unkindness He does not know how to make love to a girl His advances set a terror in the heart of Vasantsenā He is talking of beating and thrashing though he is quite incapable of doing either. He is intended to be the villain and though there is a method in his buffoonery and villainy still he is not made despicable and detestable a villain as it is all clothed under a garb of jest,, quaint manners, his absurd mythology, his rough and deliberate misinterpretations of persons and

words, and his ultra-feminine timidity The same mother fate of whom he is a favourite child in the early part of the play turns her relentless hand on him by exposing all his malicious deeds Rightly does the Vita blame him for his nasty and spoiling tendency.[1] 'There is in him absence of love as well as absence of concience. Combined with this is sensuatity—the common appetite of the brute intensified by the memory, the inlelligence and the experience of man Again the sister of sensuatity is cruelty—the lust of the one induces the lust of the other Both Chārudatta and Vasantsenā do not feel a natural repulsion to him There is no trace of even unconscious antagonism to him.

MINOR CHARACTERS —Sharvilaka has a very low opinion of his brahminhood He improvises his sacred thread as a piece of string to tie his finger with when bitten He is a sentimental and emotional youth He is the hero of the sub-plot which runs parallel to the main one He is bold and adventurous to a fault He is condemned by Madanikā, his heroine. Madanikā in her steadiness and shrewdness serves a good counterfoil to the unsteady, everchanging, extremely emotional temperament of Sharvilaka.

Rohasena is the son of Charudatta for whom he has a warm corner in his heart He does not allow even a cool

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1 श —स्त्रीणा शतं मारयामि शूरोऽहम् ।
विट :—यदेव परिहर्तव्य तदेवोदाहरति मूर्ख ।
श. :—चारुदत्तविनाशय करोमि कपट नवम् ।
मम वशमनुगता रावणस्येव कुन्ती
भीमसेनो जमदग्निपुत्र । द्रौपदीव पलायसे रामभीता
कथ शृगाला उड्डयन्ति वायसा गच्छन्ति ।

wind to blow over him · His appearance before his father who was on his way to the gallows produces a very pathetic effect in the situation Cheta, Vita are very shrewd characters Vita is learned and has the sense of propriety. "Mathura, the master-gambler is a hardened sinner without bowels of compassion." Faithfulness, inquisitiveness, resourcefulness are shown by the maids There is sacrifice in Dhūtā who is ready to consign herself to fire The Vridhā comes out of trial with fortitude The chāndālas have got the philosophy of grave-diggers. The servants are blunt They fall out on the smallest pretext

The style is pānchāli and hence is soft and sweet It is both realistic and naturalistic. The pathetic description of poverty, the sublime and realistic description of rain, the execution scene, the appearance of Rohasena there, are very highly sentimental. The wealth of incidents, and the happy coincidence in their presentation are seen in a number of scenes, for instance, Vasantsenā entering in Chārudatta's house, Radanikā being mistaken for Vasantsenā, the comedy of errors through the exchange of carts the appearance of Veeraka, the city guard in the trial of Chārudatta, the broil between Shakāra and Maitreya and the disclosure of the ornaments

CHAPTER IV

Kālidās

"Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms and fruits of its decline,
And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed,
Wouldest thou then the earth and heaven itself in one sole name combine
I name thee, O Shākuntala, and all at once is said"

Thus breaks out Goethe, a poet and a dramatist of great renown in Europe. This eulogistic strain contains the condensed consensus of opinion of the critics of both East and West It is Kālidās and the Vedic-seers that have established both the antiquity and the sublimity of the Sanskrit literature in the eyes of the world It is a pity that the date and the life of this illustrious alumnus, a great votary of creative genius should have been shrouded in the womb of mystery and should consequently have given rise to a numberless traditions One tradition makes him ignorant in youth and ascribes the fertility of his genius to the favour of the goddess Kāli Another makes him a contemporary of Bhoja (1106 A. D.) of Dhāra A third one puts him amongst the nine jewels at the court of Vikramāditya (57 B C). A fourth one makes him a resident of Kāshmir. One more says that he died in Ceylon by the hand of a courtizan and that it was discovered by his friend Kumārdāsa (identified with the king of that name who lived in the early part of 600 A. D) The traditions instead of giving any truth only multiply the personality of the poet This is why Rājashekhara mentions three Kālidāsas The grain of truth that these traditions contain is more an æsthetic one than a historical one.

The question about his date is yet a moot one Kālidās could not have lived earlier than Agnimitra, the hero of one of his plays, belonging to the Sunga dynasty of (150 B. C.) and later than Bāna (620 A D) the court-poet of Harshavardhana (607-648 A. D) or the Aihole inscription of Ravikīrti (634 A D.). His date is thus circumscribed by these two dates Tradition places him in 100 B. C. as a contemporary of Vikramāditya who started an era after him in 57 B. C But this Vikram era is mentioned in no ancient inscription though the preceding Mouryan era is referred to in a number of writings about Chandragupta and Asoka. The first inscription that mentions this era belongs to Chanda-Mahāsenā of the Chahamān family and it is dated at 841 A. D. The discontinuance of the Vikram era for a long period of 800 years raises a doubt as to Vikrama himself and consequently of his contemporaries Kālidās and the nine jewels at his court. The nine jewels were all great men in their own sphere and when separated by a wide gulf of time might have been strung together by a later admirer of theirs and made contemporaries of the famous patron of learning The GāthāSaptashati[1] that refers to Vikramāditya is of uncertain date and the Mahārashtri in the plays of Kālidāsa is posterior to GāthāSattasai. The prākritized form Uraiyur of Sanskrit Uragapur[2] with the loss of two intervocatic *ga* and *pa*, is not a reliable philological transformation It is moreover located on the south bank of the Kaveri by the Gadwal plate of 700 A D The close of the Sangham age must date before 600 A D. The reference to Uraiyūr cannot take Kālidās before Christ The Bhita Medallion[3] of

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1 Arya 64 2 Raghu VI 50 3 Cambridge History of India Vol I

Sunga period represents a charioteer with a hermit stopping him from hunting and in the back-ground a girl watering a tree in front of a hut But no importance need be attached to this evidence[1] as the scene might possibly have been borrowed from the Mahābhārata

There is an attempt to prove Kālidāsa's priority to Ashwaghosa by the allusions to Sarvadamana in Sākuntala and to the insanity of Purūravas that are discovered in some verses in Soundarananda of Ashwaghosa of 100 A. D. This is further supported by verbal and conceptual resemblances between Raghuvamsa and Budhacharita About the allusions, one might as well ask why the allusions should not be taken to refer to the same stories in the Mahābhārata. The discovery of the plays of Ashwaghosha in the Luders Turfan mss. has conclusively established the antiquity of the Prākrits and thereby the priority of Ashwaghosa The percentage of short-metres in Ashwaghosha is another evidence in favour of his priority.

The evidence-astronomical and astrlogical that we find in the works of Kālidās *viz*-the eclipses, the equalization of the mid-day, the zodiac sign Lion, the words Ucca, Jamitra—sets him difinately not prior to 350 A. D.

We have thus seen that Kālidās cannot be taken to 100 B C or 100 A. D There is no evidence to take him in the next two centuries even because there is no paramount sovereign with whom we can associate the high-patronage to learning, the era, and the reign at Ujjain The word Vikramāditya is not, therefore, a proper noun but a title and there is evidence to show that this title was assumed by some illustrious kings of the Gupta dynasty Vikramāditya of Kālidāsa is identified with Chandra-

1 D R. Bhandarkar

gupta II who was the Lord of Ujjain and whose coins found in Kathiawar show the title and the date 413 A. D.[1]

This title is also assumed by Skandagupta (450 A. D.) as is maintained by Pathak.[2] The patronage that Kālidās enjoyed under the Guptas is compensated by him by writing a panegyric poem on the Guptas, allegorical allusions to whom he hidden under the heroes of Raghuvamsa. Rāma and Pururavas both represent Scanda Gupta.[3] Raghu in his world-conquest conquers the Hūnas who had settled on the bank of the river Vanksu—the Oxus. (Indus, V. L.) The date of the first establishment of the Hūna empire on the Oxus is 450 A. D. and they were defeated by Skandagupta in 455 A. D. It is maintained that Kālidās was an elderly contemporary of Skandgupta. The reference to Hunas in M. Bhārat is inexplicable in this theory.

Dr Hoernle[4] holds that Vikramāditya is no other than Yasodharman of Ujjain "who about the year 528 accomplished the delivery of their country from oppression by inflicting a decisive defeat on Mihirkula, a Saka king who was taken prisoner" and who is eulogised in the Mandosor inscription of 532 A. D. M. M. Haraprasād Shastri relies on the historical data furnished by Raghu. VI and supports Dr Hoernle. Prof Bhāndārkar[5] takes some stanzas in Raghu. VI relating to the King of Anūpa called Pratipa who belonged to the Kārtavīrya lineage and had his capital at Māhishmati. This is, he says a clear reference to the Kalchuri dynasty "Kālidās flourished about the middle or in the second or third quarter of

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1 Dr Bhandarkar for B. O. S. S., V. A. Smith. 2 Ind. Ant. 1911. 3 H. B. Bhide, F. O. C. 4, J. R. A. S. 1909. 5 I. ant 1911.

the sixth century". This date synchronises with the dates of Varāhamihira and Amarsinha (600 A. D.) who are made contemporaries of Kālidās by the Jyotirvidābharana This work on astronomy has been ascribed to Kālidās and has been proved to have been written after the year 523 A D, under the patronage of one Vikramāditya The work has been based on the theory of Varāhamihira, and therefore cannot be given the ancient date (B C 33) which it claims This work refers to Vikramāditya, in some dozen places and this Vikramāditya is the same personality who ruled in Mālwā sixty years prior to the visit of HuoenTsang (629-45), who placed his friend Matrigupta on the throne of Kashmir,[1] who was also styled as Shilāditya, by HuoenTsang, who put the Sakas to flight and killed them in the rigion of Karur[2] the date of which has been proved to be 544 A D. by Dr Fleet[3].

" *Kalidas thus lived in the middle of the sixth century* ".

Analysis of the works of Kālidās reveals the fact that they fall clearly in three periods Some of the works are purely descriptive—objective forms of poetry e g the Ritusamhāra The objective element of poetry came in course of time to be merged in the subjective element and gave us quite finished products of the mixture of the two typified by the epics The dramas deal with only the subjective type The lyric of the highest form appears in the Meghadūta The works record evidence for three distinct periods in the developme t of the poetic genius of the poet. (1) The formative period when the poet was assessing his powers, (2) the transitional period, (3) The

1 Raj Tar 3-125 2 Alberuni's India 3 Corpus Ind P 55

period of perfection Of the three dramas the Mālvika A. and Vikrama U fall within the second transitional period while the Shākuntala—the perfect production is the fruit of the last period It is but natural that the young novice should have tried his hand first at the objective type of poetry and then gathered strength to write lucid exposition on the complexities of the human heart The sentiments and their expression must have come last of all in the period of mature perfection First the historical comedy followed by the mythological comedy and crowned by the sentimental comedy—this is the gradual process of the development of poet's genius

A close examination of the poet's feeling of diffidence with which he introduces Mālvika A.[1] and its gradual transformation to the feeling of confidence with which he introduces his Shākuntala[2] shows that the three plays belong to three different stages in the development of his dramatic genius. This is corroborated by the discription of sentiment. The abnormal sensuality in the love in the Malvikā A. is considerably reduced in Vikramorvashi and is very rarely found in Shākuntala. Mālvikā is pure but is brought up in the royal atmosphere and therefore can be expected to be familiar with the working of love Urvashi is labouring under a curse which must have robbed her of the sensitiveness to that sentiment. Shakuntalā is purer and simpler still. The course of love again

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1. प्रथितयशसा भासकविपुत्रसौमिल्लकादीना प्रबन्धानतिक्रम्य वर्तमान-कवे कालिदासस्य कथ परिषद बहुमान ॥ माल

2 अथ खलु कालिदासग्रथितवस्तुना शाकुन्तलनामधेयेन नवेन नाटके-नोपस्थातव्यम् । शा.

is impeded in both by the hard rocks of jealousy of Irāvati and Aushinari while it runs smoothly and unimpededly in Shākuntala The finish and the polish of language and ettiquette, the texture of plot, the unfolding of characters leave no doubt as regards the fact that the skill shown in Shākuntala must have been acquired by the poet by the initial attempts in the dramatics in Mālvikā A. first and Vikram U. second The authenticity of one penmanship of the three plays is clear from the phonetic and conceptual resemblances and the Prastāvanās bear out unmistakably the fact that the renowned penman was Kālidās.

" His writings show indeed a keen appreciation of high ideal and lofty thought but the appreciation is aesthetic in its nature; he elaborates and seeks to bring out the effectiveness of these on the imaginative sense of the noble and grandiose, applying to the things of the mind and soul the same sensuous standard as to the things of sense themselves He is the great, the supreme poet, poet of senses, of aesthetic beauty, of sensuous emotion He is, besides, a consummate artist, profound in conception, suave in execution, a master of sound and language who has moulded for himself out of the infinite possibilities of the Sanskrit tongue, a verse and diction which are absolutely the grandest, most puissant and most full-voiced of any human speech, a language of gods "[1]

Malavikagnimitra.

" The subject of the three plays of Kālidās is taken from the heroic mythology and a royal demigod and nymph, of more than human mould are the hero and the heroine "[2] In Mālavikāgnimitra the plot is so simple

1 The age of Kālidas—Arbind Ghosh. 2 Wilson Theatre.

There is first the scene of prāshnikatva—examination, but none is so much eager and interested in deciding whether Ganadāsa or Haradāsa is superior, as in bringing Mālavikā on the stage and displaying before the king all her personal charms The queen puts all possible hindrances in the way and finally quits the theatre in anger The second occasion of Mālvikā's introduction is another fine piece of poet's invention The queen suffers a fall from a swing and Mālavikā is sent to kick the Asoka and get flowers Agnimitra who lies hidden offers himself to be kicked instead of Asoka but is discovered by the queen who gives a reprimand[1]. The fun reaches climax when Vidushaka advises the king to trust to his heels.

The fourth act is another instance of the masterpiece of the poet's inventive faculty. Mālavikā is put in a lock-up by the two queens but the serpent-ring on the finger of the queen is secured very cleverly by creating a sham commotion by the snake-bite of Vidushaka The ring—Nāgmudrā is given to the jailor and the prisoner is at large. The same act gives a picture-scene which achieves much in point of dramatic economy The vascillating temperament of the king in point of love is brought home to Mālavikā who is sorry for the step she had taken [2] The final fruition is put off by the sudden entrance of Irāvati The last act unfolds the story of Mālavikā's birth and she is given ready admittance in the royal harem by the queens

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1 ननु अशोक कुसुमं दर्शयति । अयं पुन पुष्पति फलति च ।

2. तत्किमिदानिमायासयिष्ये ।

Agnimitra is a prince of Sunga dynasty. "He is a love-sick hero but the reports of the battles and victories reminds us of his kingly functions and high importance. The curt reply from the Vaidarbha rouses his ire and he at once proceeds to arrest Mādhaosena with whom he wants to have a matrimonial alliance. That he is a hero of the Shatha type[1] is clear from the plot which he thatches in consultation with Vidūshaka and Panditā Kausiki for bringing together the rival preceptors over the point of superiority of the knowledge of dramatics The underlying m tive in sounded by the qeeen though very shrewdly he keeps himself away and leaves the decision to the Panditā. The bounding nature of his love is manifest from his eagerness to have a glimpse of Mālavikā[2] for which he gets a retort from his friend.[3]

His love has for its object a dancing girl—a maid servant of the queen. It, therefore, shows a lower taste and goes against the chivalrous spirit of the king The stead-fastness of love is doubted by even Mālavikā in the picture scene. He is a man unsteady in love, wavering in confidence, with no initiative, afraid of the wrath of Irāvati and relying upon the sublime and resigning temperament of Dhārini.

The Vidushaka in this play is more a friend and confidant than a jester of the king He along with Jayasenā is connected with every affair of the king's love which he manages very skilfully. He tries to snatch the bracelet

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1 इरा. शठ, अविश्वसनीयहृदयोऽसि ।

2. चक्षु सहर्तुमधीरतया व्यवासितमिव मे तिरस्करिणीम्

3 उपस्थितं नयनमधु । संनिहित मक्षिकम् ।

from off the king's wrist to be given to Mālavikā for her skill and thus kills two birds with one stone Even in his ravings he does not lose the sense of propriety He creates a sham bustle over his snake-bite and secures the ring for the release of Mālavikā from the jail for the ready and timely help that he gives to his friend to extricate him from ugly situations, he gets severe reprimands from the queen.[1] He proceeds with the love-affairs more seriously than his friend and contributes very little to the comic side of the drama.

The most effective characterization in this play appears not in male characters but in female ones and that too in the two queens Mālavikā is a princess of the royal blood of Vidarbha but is introduced as a waiting maid The king is impressed with her beauty when he sees her painted among the attendants of the queen It is her beauty that rouses the jealousy of the queens who keep her away from the king's gaze[2] Her talents evoke a compliment from her preceptor.[3] With boldness she appears in the open assembly and gives expression to her love for the king[4] She constantly importunes her heart to desist from the course of love as the object is too high to be reached[5] She doubts the density and the sincerity

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1 कथं खलु ब्रह्मबन्धु अन्यथा जीविष्यति । सत्यमय ब्रह्मबन्धुना कृतः प्रयोग । साधु रे पिङ्गलवानर साधु परित्रातस्त्वया संकटात्स्वपक्ष ।

2 मालविका सविशेषं भर्तुर्दर्शनपथाद् रक्ष्यते ।

3 परमनिपुणा मेधाविनी यद्यत्प्रयोगविषये भाविकं उपदिश्यते मया तस्यै तत्तद्विशेषकरणात्प्रत्युपदिशति इव मे बाला ।

4 नाथ मा पराधीना त्वयि गणय सतृष्णाम् ।

5 आविज्ञातहृदयम् भर्तारम् ।

of the king's feeling. She is afraid of the queens She secures help from her friend Bakulāvalikā and her matron Kaushiki.

AryāKaushiki records all the facts faithfully and calls them up with wonderful memory and vividness She is a sister to Sumati, the minister of Mādhaosen. She believes in the courses and working of fate She puts faith in a certain prophecy that Mālvikā is to be wedded with a king after one year She appears in the last act and narrates the whole account, as to how they came there and how she was driven to accept the red robes of a nun. She is not so much in the confidence of Mālvikā as Bakulāvalikā but she is thoroughly familiar with every item though she has no hand in its manipulation She is an instance of an old done-up lady looking with an indulgent eye on the pranks of love. She does not discourage them, she does not dislike them. Kāmandaki of Bhavabhuti arranges every item and takes interest in it Kāmandaki would have certainly taken part in the amorous affairs of the lovers, had it been allowed by the laws of the order to which she belonged. She must have been repenting for the rash act of becoming a nun It is Kaushiki that calms down the mind of Dhārini and strengthens her fortitude for giving the hand of Mālvikā to the king.[1] She comforts the mind of Dhārini She is an authority on the dance and on the cure of the snake-bite and alone among the women who speak Sanskrit.

The queen Dhārini is sister to Vīrsena of Antapāla who makes her a present of his trophy—the two female captives. She is simple and sympathetic By

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1. प्रतिपक्षेणापि पतिं सेवन्ते भर्तृवत्सला· साध्व्य· ।

nature she is free from jealousy though she is often roused to it by her co-wife She gives her own anklet to Mālvikā when she is deputed to kick Ashoka for flowers She is very much moved by the sham bustle of Vidushaka's snake-bite[1] She parts with her ring to be tried as an antedote, little knowing that the wily brahmin would make use of it in releasing the prisoners. Her resignation of will is so complete that not only does she unite the king and Mālvikā but she also sends a word of consolation to Irāvati[2] There is a just cause for anger but she rises above it by her grace, dignity and magnanimity Dhārini is an ideal Hindu woman, calm, tranquil, sublime, prizing the husband's happiness most, easily moved to pity and charity

Irāvati is a matter-of-fact lady She does not depend so much on ceremony It is her jealousy and passionate impetuosity[3] that the whole plot moves round. She is not mindful of the right and rank of the king[4] nor is the king on his part very much favourably impressed by her. The unsteadiness in the love of the king makes her so restless that she is led to an outbreak against him She charges the queen with partiality towards Mālvikā[5] Even up to the last she does not forget her dignity but sends a word through her maid when the king is led to enjoy perfect happiness

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1 धिक् धिक् अहमेव ब्राह्मणस्य जीवितसंशयनिमित्तं जातास्मि ।

2 साधारण खलु तासा मम चायमभ्युदय. ।

3 महती खलु अस्याः सभावना । 4 शठ आविश्वसनीयहृदयोऽसि ।

5 दृष्टो भवत्या पक्षपात. ।

Vikramorvashiyam.

This play shows an advance in imagination over the preceding play in which the characters and situations have the solid, historical back ground Here there is the mythological back-ground. Further advance of creating human figures of airy nothing is still reserved for Shākuntala. If the current of love in Mālvikā is checked and impeded by social decency, here it runs in a passionate and undisciplined way. The central theme in Mālvikā is romantic though the situations are realistic. The personages and situations of the superhuman portion of the drama are both elegant and picturesque and the grouping upon the peaks of the Himālaya or the descent of Nārada through the fields of ether, the transformation of Urvashi into a vine are the results of the superhuman element which is at work.

The story of Purūravas is told not so much in conformity with the version of Purānas, which is given as follows · "A celestial nymph loved and married an earthly king, warning him, however, that she could abide with him only so for as he would be careful that she should not behold him disrobed. For many years they enjoyed unalloyed happiness when her companions the nymphs and the spirits who had sorely missed her resolved to bring her back by stratagem and contrived by sending an opportune flash of lightening at night that the condition of her existence on earth should be violated. In that flash she saw her lord divested of his robes and with a wail forthwith vanished The king mourned for her and sought her all over the world until after long sorrowful wanderings he found her and they were miraculously

reunited" The story occurs in Matsyapurāna and in Shatapatha Br The change that the poet has wrought in this original is highly romantic The ugly and indecent condition, *viz* the disrobing on the part of the king has been changed to the sight of the son's face The play is also said to be a dawn-myth put into a dramatic form The nymph Urvashi is turned into a vine as soon as she beholds her lover Urvashi is another name for dawn. Her lover is the Sun. The vine bleeds and speaks when broken. It appears in this form in the Greek mythology and the ballads of the middle ages Urvashi belongs to the kind of species known as apsarasas which are supposed to have semi-divine powers and to have an acquatic origin. The acquatic origin and human speech are biologically impossible to be associated Ethnologically they must be a people very beautiful, living in huts erected on and supported by a pillar fixed in the centre of a lake It is the wild fancies of poets that have made the Gandharvas, and Apsarasas as more superhuman, more etherial, more ideal

" Trivial as the incidents may appear, unimportant as may be the loves of the hero and the heroine, both persons and events are subject to an aweful control whose interference invests them with a dignity superior to their natural level. Fate is the ruling principle of the narrative and the monarch, the nymph and the sovereign of the gods himself are portrayed as subject to the inscrutable and inevitable decrees of destiny The simplicity of the story does not admit of much display of character but the timid constancy of Urvashi is not unhappily contrasted with irresolute haughtiness of the queen The poet too has shown himself not unacquainted with the springs of human feelings and his

observations on the relations of the sexes in domestic life are equally shrewd and just[1]." The feeling of love is shown with all the usual and necessary accompaniment, but it is defective in this that the love is not first-hand—not chaste on both the sides. Had Urvashi been a simple, coy maiden rescued by the chivalrous king not owning any harem, the scene would have been very grand The chief charm of this piece is its poetry. The story, the situations and the characters are highly imaginative and nothing can surpass the beauty and justice of many of the thoughts

The incidents in the play fall into two groups that are separated by a wide gulf of time. The first three acts require a fortnight A period of twelve years passes between the third and the fourth.

The beginning of the play is similar to that in the plays of Bhāsa (the chirping sound of birds) The poet goes on with a cautious step The first act depicts the mental perturbation of the Apsarasas, the rousing of the chivalrous spirit in the king's heart, the defeat of the demons, the consequent rescue of the damsels, the fainting and the recovery of Urvashi The love appears in both the aspects—the Sambhoga and the Vipralambha. The seed is sown in the mutual glances at their first meeting, The feeling takes such long strides in its development and influence on the king that the change in him is easily betrayed to the queen. She already possesses a scrutinizing eye and she deputes her maid, her wily Chēti to have further light thrown on the affair. The second act is a little prolix in as much as it contains two incidents—the arrival of Urvashi and the dropping of

1. Hindu Theatre, Wilson

the birch-leaf — achieving the same dramatic purpose. The birch-leaf is a romantic expedient as an epistle of love and is useful afterwards in aggravating the jealousy of the queen But the appearance of Urvashi serves no end. On the other hand the scene would have been more pathetic had she been kept away. The same birch-leaf is inadvertently lost by Vidūshaka, goes furher in the custody of the queen and is turned to account afterwards for silencing the king who wants to evade

The progress of the love is compared to the current of a river dashing on hard rocks[1] There is once more the prospect of reunion in the curse and the counter-curse consequent upon inadvertence on the part of Urvashi on the heavenly stage The whole plot can be said to be a uni-thread texture though there is the minor thread of Chitrarath and the heavenly paraphernalia interwoven. The play is a love-frolic in a royal house-hold like Ratnāvali or Mālvikā, with this difference that Urvashi is a celestial nymph possessing some mystic—superhuman powers She can witness in person the pitiful condition and the piteous accents of the king and can remain unseen The vow—the gratification of the lovers which the queen undertakes besides manifesting a romantic element, throws light on the character of the queen and thereby on the wife-folk of ancient India The obstruction in the way is removed by the sacrifice and resignation of the queen who expresses an honest wish for unity between herself and her rival

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1 नद्या इव प्रवाहो विपमशिलासंस्टस्खलितवेग
विघ्नितसमागमसुखो मन्मथः शतगुणी भवति ॥

tion and king Skandagupta on that of history[4]. He is introduced in the play engaged in a deed of chivalry—a skermish with the demons for the rescue of damsels. He is very highly connected, claiming his birth from the Moon[2]. Like the kings of the ancient time, his valour entitles him to an invitation from Indra whenever any fight is imminent, but unlike them he possesses a sense of modesty when he attributes all his successes to Indra[3]. His ardour for valour never flags. Being undaunted he desires for further encounter The sentiment—whether of heroism or of love is unadulterated with hypocricy The sincerity and intensity of passion go to the length of driving him to insanity In addition to the lack of initiative which is common to all the heroes of Kālidāsa, Pururavas suffers from the lack of self-restraint and manliness This is why he in a passionate dispair raves at the sudden metamorphosis of Urvashi There is a mixture of sense and non-sense, of sanity and insanity, running in and out of one another and adds to the mystery of his nature He has got his own attractiveness He is delicate of body, sensitive as a child and fearful of the unfavourable tidings about his lost beloved He trembles before the unanswering trees and birds Even in the midst of affairs of both love and war he never forgets his attendance to the solar deity. He possesses a deadly armoury. Just towards the end, his feeling suffers a sudden change- the conjugal love giving place to filial and parental love

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1 H B Bhide, F O C

2. सेामादेकान्तर· ।

3 उपस्थितसंपराय महेन्द्र. विजयसेनामुखे नियोजयति ।

4 अनुत्सेक खलु विक्रमालंकारः ।

The Vidūshaka, his friend, is not a good companion. He never takes the responsibility of extracting the king from awkward positions in the love affair but on the other hand creates more. He is stupid and clumsy, quite incapable of holding in any secrets He is not only not resourceful as his name-sake in M. A. but spoils the resources at his disposal. He loses the birch-leaf letter and creates the whole trouble for the king The humour that he breaks out in is of the routine type—pertaining to the attractions of the kitchen, deformities of his own person and the treatment of him as a butt by the maids of the queen

Urvashi belongs to that species of beings called the Apsarasas who can be said to be the courtezans at the court of gods and hence she does not mince matters with her friend regarding her love and enticement by the king The feeling of shame is cast off by her and she at once admits that the god of love is sent by her as a messenger. In these frank admissions of the workings of her heart in the unimpeded course of love she can be compared with Vasantsenā The feat of chivalry on the part of the king sows the seed of love which shoots up and grows so luxuriantly and absorbs the mind of Urvashi so much that she is landing herself into errors in the presence of the austere audience Even though her status allows her to proceed ardently in her affair, she is afraid of the queen. The sentiment with which she is affected, though intense, is not sublime. It makes her blind to the other sentiments of the human heart. The love is selfish to the core For fear of separation from her lover she foregoes the delightful fondling of her child and thus betrays a woeful lack of motherly love.

Aushinari is a dignified queen She has not got that composure of mind which is with Dhārini in M. A In a fit insane jealousy and anger she leaves the king, goes to the garden to soothe down her excitement but finds there one more additional ground for aggravating her jealousy—the brich-leaf letter Like an ideal and dutiful Hindu woman, she persuades herself to accept the affair in good grace She repents for the harsh treatment meted to the king for his deviation and proceeds herself to perform the vow—प्रियानुप्रसादन—gratification of her lord. She sacrifices her love and secures the pleasure of her husband[1] in which point she serves a good counterfoil to the character of Urvashi who sacrifices every thing for her selfish love

Shakuntala

"No composition of Kālidāsa displays more the richness of his poetical genius, the exuberance of his imagination, the warmth and the play of his fancy, his profound knowledge of the human heart, his delicate appreciation of its most refined and tender emotions, his familiarity with the workings and counter-workings of its conflicting feelings—in short more entitles him to rank as the Shakespeare of India"[2] This play gives the sweet union of Earth and Heaven according to Goethe who takes Earth to represent thoughtlessness, sensuality, sin or fall and Heaven to represent merit, virtue It is a combination of sin and merit according to Tagore, and this combination is illustrated by the poetic history of the two

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1 अद्य प्रभृति या स्त्रियं आर्यपुत्र. प्रार्थयते या आर्यपुत्रसमागमप्रणयिनी तया मया प्रीतिबन्धेन भवितव्यम् ।

2 M Williams

characters The marriage of Navamālikā and Sahakāra, the union of two types of love—the Sātvic and Rājas—of conscious and sub-conscious sentiments and finally of Heaven and Earth are so many side-lights on the allegorical significance of the theme—call it then a physical, metaphysical, sentimental or spiritual allegory. The play presents a conflict between two very dominant human feelings—sense of happiness and sense of duty—answers and solves the riddle of life in its brighter aspect. It thus disproves the charge that 'it moves in a narrow world far removed from the cruelty of real life and that for the deeper questions of human life Kālidās has no message for us.'[2] The characters fall into two distinct groups according as they move in two different atmospheres—temporary and permanent, civic and rustic, equivocating and truthful, sinful and sinless or innocent

The bony structure of the incident is taken from the Mahābhārata and seems to have been improved upon by the poet. The new elements introduced by the poet have given quite a different appearance to the original episode and justify the poet's claim to originality and explain why he laid his hand upon an already known incident The curse and the counter-curse of Durvāsas, the flight of Shakuntalā with Menakā, Dushyanta's help to Indra are new events. Durvāsa, Māricha, the boy-ascetics, the maids, the vidushaka, the fisherman are new characters and they pour life-spirit in the original dull episodes consisting of the hunting, the sight, the marriage, the dispatch and disavowal of Shakuntalā.

The striking sameness in the ring-and-fish incident told by Herodotus in his story of Polykrates and told also

2 K D

by Kālidāsa has led some scholars to suppose that the Shākuntala is founded on one of the most universally familiar stories of European folk-lore. The lover in both the stories, stricken by a wicked spell, forgets his love, recovers his memory of her only on seeing the golden ring he gave her and which is brought back to him under a variety of romantic circumstances Kālidāsa produces the ring by the force of sheer accident The ring is discovered in the stomach of an exceptionally fine fish caught in a stream into which Shakuntalā had accidentally dropped it and the fisherman, accused of stealing it, is brought into the presence of the king for judgment, the ring is produced and the moment it catches the monarch's eye, he awakes as from a trance and asks for his wife The resemblance in the stories though certainly very astonishing does not warrant any inference as regards the debt of borrowal on either side It is possible that both the poets were struck by the homely aspect of the ring and made its use in the build of the plot independently of each other The ring, on account of its inseparable association with the finger and its tiny form, serves as a good means to accelerate and accentuate the speed of the dramatic action. It is always a theme for a sub-current that wields a tremendous influence on the main one It is an easy but sure means of recognition and identification. Persons may change, sentiments may transform, properties and authorities may transfer hands, but the ring remains firm and steady under the most trying circumstances and consoles the grieved. Such a handy means is too common in every-day life not to be availed of There is a ring in Rāmāyana which is handed over by Hanumat to Sītā who is satisfied as regards

the personation of the spy. The ring is in M. A, in Mūdra R and in Ratnāvali

The ring episode is the centralising force in the action of the drama from the beginning to the end. The initial insignificance of it gradually assumes significance and becomes the sole attractive force at the end There is nothing unusual that it is on the king's finger, that he offers it compensating the debt of her friends, their modest reluctance for its acceptance, the presentation of it to Shakuntalā, the loss of it by her, the gulping of it by a fish and its final restoration In spite of the great magnitude of mischief that is wrought by the ring, it comes out as a harmless means when Māricha discloses the account of the curse of Durvāsas. The recognition that is achieved by the ring is also achieved by another means, *viz*—the रक्षाकरंडक (the magic box) Wife, husband and son are all recognised by these two means

The play gives the welding of three threads, two major ones–one referring to Dushyanta and his royal household, the second referring to Shakuntalā and the sphere of hermitage and a minor one—that of Māricha The bi-polar welding continues upto the last act where the third thread comes in. The king is introduced as seeking pleasure in hunting The king, a frequenter of the harem as he was, could not have been so very easily extricated from off the ties of his harem and from the responsibilities of his court and chamber and could not have been brought so very near the scene of romance as is done by means of hunting. The scene again incidentally throws a number of side-hints — the king's youth, his jovial temper, his agility, his delight in manly exercises, his command over and respect from his soldiers The stretched bow is readily

wound up at the request of Vaikhānas who being pleased with *this piece of conduct of the king confers on him* a boon[1]. This puts a stop to all speculations as regards the final catastrophe Through whatever calamitous situations the hero and the heroine may pass, one thing is quite clear to them—" the king is to get a sovereign son " Another indication comes later on regarding the possible adverse change in the fortune of the heroine. The Muni—the foster-father had repaired to some Teertha to perform some observances to avert the evil The minds are thus prepared for the eventuality The plot and the characters develop so rapidly in the first act that the poet has no time to explain the situation The plot moves on of itself The characters plod on in a way quite unconsciously to them or to those who surround them Every thing happens in accordance and consonance with the general trend of the scene and in harmony with the high notions of romance In the second act the king stops and takes stock of the events that passed before him in a dramatic way. The second act is a reflection of the first and explains the psychological basis on which the events in the first act appear to have rested The seed is sown in the first interview The second act describes the mental condition of the king, his eagerness to proceed further towards the end The third act sheds further light on the feeble conditions of both the parties that are brought face to face and are thus convinced of each other's sincerity and the galloping nature of the feeling of enamourment. There are two pictures in this act—the love-perturbed state of mind of Dushyanta and the simple, innocent girls trying their best to assuage the worst effects of a feeling

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1 चक्रवर्तिनम् पुत्रमाप्नुहि ।

which they could not diagnose, attributing the derangement to Madan on the evidence of analogy of which they had heard in itihāsa-nibandha. The supressed feeling find forcible expression in the case of Shakuntalā who improvises the writing materials and puts forth a love-epistle The scene proceeds smoothly in two different streams which further unite at the entrance of the king. The maids shrewdly retire , the lovers get confidence but both labour under the restrictions of society The scene is interrupted by Gautami who comes there inquiring after her health [1] Thus they part to taste the cup of miseries kept in reserve for them by destiny.[2]

The fourth act is the key-stone in the arch of plot-architecture at which the plot presents a pleasant static condition The whole hermitage, human and otherwise, is bidding good-bye to their mistress who had endeared herself to them by her genial and affectionate company. Each one of them typifies a certain aspect of the sentiment of pathos while Kanva is pathos incarnate. He gives expression to the best sentiments and is convinced of the divine aspect and potentiality of the union by the bodiless speech, at which he gives a long breath of relief [3]

Whatever be the other aspects of life that this drama may represent, it surely represents the strife between forest life and civic life The struggle reaches its climax

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1. रे चक्रवाक आमन्त्रयस्व सहचरीम् ।
2. अहो विघ्नवत्य प्रार्थितार्थसिद्धय. ।
3 हन्त भो. शकुन्तला पतिकुल विसृज्य लब्धमिदानीं स्वास्थ्यम् ।
जातो ममाय विषद: प्रकाम प्रत्यर्पितन्यास इवान्तरात्मा ।

in the fifth act where an open challenge is offered by the simple and guileless ascetics to the fore-most in the civic life – the king Maidens and boys, Kanva and Gautami are taken in by the high-sounding utterances of the townsman who is conversant with the affairs of the world They are ignorant and innocent of the many-sided deceitful devices of the court The unmasking of Shakuntalā has unmasked the king who has his nature turned naked and who struggles to find shelter in prophecies and curses Victory, of course, belongs to the forest life because it is ready to sacrifice and submit to the wiles and guiles of the town life

The Vishkambhaka of the sixth act carries the same struggle further by presenting a broil between the simple fisherman and the police in which the former comes out triumphant though with a good deal of sufferance It is this realism that appeals to the pit and gives to the drama a realistic touch There is idealism at the beginning and the end of the drama while the intervening acts present realism The sixth act is important on account of the intervention of the superhuman element in the course of the plot When the things present an inexplicable front then the simple credulence or faith of the people in the mysteries of the superhuman has to be exploited. The Purohita had offered a sound suggestion out of the impasse' but the event would have lost its charm and have looked too prosaic, had it been allowed to take place The play would have ended there. The superhuman, therefore, comes in and astounds the people including the king as regards the real nature of Shakuntalā.

The superhuman element works under a variety of circumstances in the Shākuntala Kanva comes to learn

of the piece of indiscretion on the part of Shakuntalā by inward vision. The curse and the counter-curse of Durvāsas, the creepers bestowing ornaments, the nymph suddenly carrying away Shakuntalā, Sānumati witnessing the love-stricken condition of the king, Mātali appearing through the mid-rigion, Dushyanta accompanying him in the aerial car, the herb transforming itself into a serpent are all instances of the working of the super-human element in the play

The scene of repudiation is very forcily worked out. The resolution of the plot commences from the sight of the ring which brings the king back to his consciousness and puts him in deep despondency The festival of the season is prohib ted and all the jubilations stopped The despondency is heightened by the mention of the merchant who leaves a large property but no issue in spite of his big harem. A rollicking humour is created by getting Vidushaka caught in a trap of Mātali who appears to invite the king for a fight against the demons.

The final scene reflects credit on the poet's sense of propriety The union is effected under an atmosphere of piety in the hermitage of the Sage Māricha[1]. The piety is again heightened by the topic that is discussed there. The repudiation of Shakuntalā necessitated some such scene. Both the first inception of love and the final fruition take place under the auspices of two revered sages. The affair though blessed by the sages suffers reverses only when it departs from their holy influence and is transferred to that of the king Māricha's hermit-

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1. उदाररमणीया—स्वर्गादधिकतरं निर्वृत्तिस्थानम् ।

age has got all the simplicity and innocence of Kanva's hermitage and in addition is more devine and more mature in thought.

In the first part of the drama the notions of both the hero and the heroine do not pertain to the devine aspect of 'Love', because they both seem to be high devotees of the "Love at first sight "Who ever loved that has not loved at first sight?" seems to be the dictum of the poet laid at the basis of the play It is the uncertainty of the sentiment that leads to the final tragic catastrophe Not only with Shakuntalā, but with both, 'all is a matter of heedless and headlong love at first sight' Both suffer on account of their inconsiderate conduct and it is by this sufferance that the rājas nature of love is whetted to its divinity

There are two clear aspects in the character of Dushyanta The first appears when he talks highly of himself — that he is a Paurava, and that nothing is inaccessible to him, that all movements of Shakuntalā concern himself The other aspect appears towards the end when he appears to be influenced by the divine in nature, feels the throbbing of shoulders, sees a boy, takes him to be a part and parcel of some divine lustre, sees the sovereign features on his body, feels the son's touch and expects that his mother must be Shakuntalā and that Shakuntalā is no other than his consort And agreeably enough all that he expects comes out to be true The over-confidence and self-respect in him reach a climax in his case and bring upon him a deserved retribution in the separation of his lady-love The sin is committed and the retribution comes upon him so mercilessly that

he rouses pity in us. "This link between sin and retribution," according to Moulton, "becomes a form of art-pleasure and no dramatic effect is more potent than that which emphasises the principle that whatever a man soweth that shall he also reap" The two aspects of rājas nature seem to be in conflict in the character of Dushyanta He loves the right thing and for the right reasons. Then he is careless of self-interest, loves Shakuntalā not for anything else but because she attracts his soul.[1] He really knows nothing of her, is wonder-struck at her inexplicably mystic appearance in the muni's hermitage. The prevailing, all-powerful influence of love is seen throughout the play in all its different aspects "Cupid is represented in his novelty, cruelty, in his freakishness, who makes his victims in the play suffer—now kind, now cruel, now hoping, despairing, accepting, refusing, yielding, repelling, fanciful and serious"

But even this love is a second maid to his fondness for martial and hunting exploits. The first and the last impression that he leaves is that he is predominantly of a hunting and fighting temperament The disturbance in his sentiments is well expressed by himself[2]

From beginning to end, Dushyanta shows a woeful lack of initiative in all his dealings resting more or less on the course that the events take Fortune, of course, always favours him In the love-affair in the first act and also in the filial love in the last he relies more on

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1. असंशय क्षत्रपरिग्रहक्षमा । यदार्यमस्यामभिलाषि मे मन ॥

2 यथा गजो नेति समक्षरूपे । तस्मिन्नतिक्रामति संशयः स्यात् ॥
पदानि दृष्ट्वा तु भवेत्प्रतीतिः । तथाविधो मे मनसो विकारः ॥

psychological inkling and falls into a piece of inconsiderate and rash conduct The desire to pay homage to the patriarch and to enjoy the hospitality at the hands of the maids, the acceptance of the request of the sages to guard the hermitage, the dispatch of Vidushaka back to his capital, the brave avowal of love to the maids of Shakuntalā, the repudiation of love in the open court done in a way quite detrimental to the honour of a woman, filial yearning towards the child, are events that point to the want of considerateness, a sign of weak-mindedness which errs more in struggling to find support in some psychological or physiological suggesstion There are contradictions in his utterances [1] Rightly has he been guaged by his friend who taunts him many a time निशङ्कुरिवान्तराले तिष्ठ &c and also by the straightforward शार्ङ्गरव (*cf* परातिसन्धानमधीयते यैर्विद्येति ते सन्तु किलाप्तवाच) "Dushyanta's attempts to conceal his identity as a king probably with the sinister purpose if Shakuntalā would have him for herself leads him most pathetically from one lie to another" The utterances are so many shrewd equivocations The divergence in the utterances of characters is defended by some, attributing it to the moral tone of those times and maintaining that the ideals of morality were much lower, and the purity of life was less valued. The attempt, however well-intentioned it may be, is far from being scholarly

A human being, according to the Hindu theory of karman is the result of his past accumulated actions

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1 अनिर्वचनीयम् परकलत्रम् । अन्याय परदारपृच्छाव्यापार ।
and न खलु च परिभोक्तुं नैव शक्नोमि हातुम् । बलवत्तु दूयमानं प्रत्याय यतीव मा हृदयम् ।

done in his past lives The genetic transmission of the parental characteristics, the surrounding circumstances are some of the many factors that operate upon the human being along with the accumulated merit of the past lives. Shakuntalā is a fine instance of a character that shows the influence of the parental characteristics, and the force of circumstances. She is an offspring to Menakā from Vishwāmitra and is brought up under the pious influence of Kanva The bark-ware which she puts on, the work of watering the creepers and the uncommon youth and beauty are at once the force of circumstances but the ambitious desire expressed in the demand of sovereignty for her male issue is an outcome of her inner nature.

Again, youth and love play havoc in the hearts of girls but that they should have found a situable field in Shakuntalā leaving Anasuyā and Priyamvadā quite immune from them shows the influence of Menakā on her The climax of vice or virtue always lends a charm to the action. That both the hero and the heroine should love each other at first sight is natural but that both should proceed straight-way to marry is indiscrete Dushyanta's case is a fine example of the retribution that comes upon a man when inconsiderateness reaches a climax. It is this bitter experience which Dushyanta and Shakuntalā get that forms the thesis of the play

Shakuntalā is a coy maiden of the hermitage. She is beautiful[1] and simple[2] The sage shows great confidence

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1 चित्रे निवेष्य परिकल्पितसत्वयोगा। रूपोच्चयेन मनसा विधिना कृता नु।
स्त्रीरत्नसृष्टिरपरा प्रतिभाति सा मे। धातुर्विभुत्वमनुचिन्त्य वपुश्च तस्या ॥

2 आजन्मनः शाठ्यमशिक्षितो यः जनः । by शार्ङ्गरव
तपोवनसंवर्धितोऽनभिज्ञोऽयं जन कैतवस्य by गौतमी.

in her powers when he engages her to do the duties of a host in his absence Fortune does not favour her from the beginning The abandonment by her mother, the chance-nursing by a Shakunta bird, the curse of Durvāsas, the loss of the ring, the damage to her honour, are a few of the many oppressions of fate She rises above all these, treads very cautiously on the path of love, and endears herself to the domain of the hermitage by her sweet conduct. When the worst comes in the wreck of her honour in the presence of her relatives she breaks away from decency and pleads her own case and submits with a resignation quite similar to that of Sitā of the Rāmāyana "Shakuntalā is shown just after the first interview to have been lifted as it were by love in a few days out of simple and innocent girlhood into mature and considerate womanhood. The progress of love makes a good advance through the willing co-operation of her two friends, Anasūyā and Priyamvadā and the easy consent of her foster-father Kanva There is shyness on both sides—perfect silence as regards expression of their passion until nature impels them to give expression to it And when one of the party fears that the sentiment for which she sacrificed her coyness as a maiden and good-will of her father is in danger, all the frankness at her command is summoned with boldness and an unmincing confession of love is made She is not ashamed of it It is her glory and it is her joy though it is her necessity Shakuntalā is the image of deep, true and imaginative love, love as a passion not only of the senses but of the intellect and soul Her natural tenderness comes out in all its magnitude when she is in love. The tenderness, loneliness, imagination meet in words and as her tenderness increases afterwards, so also does her imagination as well as her sense of the matter-of-fact world

expand with it. The atmosphere of love pervades Shakuntalā's sphere of influence which creates love in whatsoever or whomsoever it touches. The love has got a remarkable resignation to the adverseness of circumstances, willing to hold oneself accusable rather than the culprit himself.

The Vidushaka here is not strictly a confidant with the king who narrates the whole love-affair to him but nullifies its effect by saying that it was all a joke. Once only does his conventional trait—the fondness for eating—raise its head up[1]. Not being a party to the king's secret, he is not pursued either by the maids of the queen nor is his help sought by Shakuntalā's maid. Compared with his namesakes in other dramas, this man is a weak character. To Kālidāsa perhaps the creation of humour did not matter so much as the creation of the more powerful and serious sentiment, Shringār and Vāstalya Kanva is an "ascetic without a child, who lavishes on his adopted child all the wealth of his deep affection and who sends her to her husband with words of tender advice. He is brilliantly contrasted with the fierce pride and anger of Durvāsas who curses Shakuntalā for what is no more than a girlish fault and the solemn majesty of Māricha who though married has abandoned all earthly thoughts and enjoys the happiness of release[2]"

Both Anasuyā and Priyamvadā are literally true to their names, one being free from jealousy, serious and sensible and the other a sweet-talker and gay They are of the same age, of the same feeling, of the same thought and action, —their sameness being extended to every

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1. कथं बुभुक्षया खादितव्योऽस्मि ।
2 K D

possible thing There seemed to be apartness only in their bodies but not in their souls[1] Of the two boy ascetics शार्ङ्गरव is proud while शारद्वत is calm and restrained.

The language all through possesses a high tone and pitch of elegance Words and expressions that come out of the lips of any character are appropriately polished according to the social etiquette There is not too much of polish which always smells want of sincerity The observance of natural and usual etiquette gives a touch of naturalness The real merit of the poet lies in his suggestiveness and the use of similes which is his forte[2] The similes render the style brilliant and fascinating The style is Vaidarbhi and hence possesses the ten qualities of both sound and sense *e g* majesty, elevation, clearness, beauty, elegance, softness, precision, similes, etc The sources from which the similes[3] have been taken cover all possible departments in the universe "heavens, earth, biological and zoological kingdoms, domestic life, family relations, social life, mythology, fine arts, mental stages and conventions—poetic or otherwise" His comparisons are imaginative, intellectual, emotional, and conventional There is novelty and variety in them They are direct, short and pithy and there is freedom of spirit about them.

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1 अहो समवयोरूपरमणीय भवतीना सौहार्दम् ।

2 उपमा कालिदासस्य ।

3 Similes in Kalidas—Gode, F O C

CHAPTER V

Bhavabhuti—The poet-Dramatist.

Bhavabhūti breaks the reticence that is usual with sanskrit poets and enables us to stand on some terra firma by giving information about himself in the introduction of his Mahāvīracharita. It is as follows —

"आस्ति दक्षिणापथे पद्मपुर नाम नगरम् । तत्र केचित्तैत्तिरीया काश्यपाश्चरणगुरव पङ्क्तिपावना पञ्चाग्नयो धृतव्रता. सोमपीथिन. उदुंबरनामानो ब्रह्मवादिन प्रतिवसन्ति । तदामुष्यायणस्य तत्रभवतो वाजपेययाजिनो महाकवे पञ्चम. सुगृहीतनाम्नो भट्टगोपालस्य पौत्र पवित्रकीर्तेर्नीलकण्ठस्यात्मसंभव· श्रीकण्ठपदलाञ्छन पदवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञो भवभूतिर्नाम जातुकर्णीपुत्र ।

We thus see that Bhavabhūti was born of Jatukarni and Nīlkantha, son of Gopal Bhatta residing in Padmapura in Daxināpatha. The family of Udumbaras to which he belonged claimed lineage from Kashyapa and followed the Taittiriya Shākhā. Tradition clusters round the name of the poet which was Shrikantha first but was substituted for Bhavabhūti through the favour of Shiva who gave ashes to him An identity is established between Bhavabhūti, Umveka and Mandana[1] though it is contradicted by solid evidence, *viz.* 1 Umveka and Mandana were two different personalities according to Ghanashyāma, his commentator, 2 Bhavabhūti betrays sympathy for Budhism. This confusion is due to his proclivities

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1. शंकरदिग्विजय.

towards sacrificial activities which he had inherited from his ancestors who were सोम and वाजपेययाजिनूs He was a great student of sacerdotal learning a great mimāmsaka and claimed the discipleship of Kumārilabhatta [1] As against this he mentions one ज्ञाननिधि as his guru who was a परमहंस[2] Is this word ज्ञाननिधि to be taken as an epithet?

Opinion is divided as regards the locality of his place of birth Ghanashyāma puts him down as a native of Dravida country from his style This is corroborated by the familiarity with which the scenes round about the river Godā and the outskirts of the Vindhya mountain are described in U R and M M The same familiarity is also noticed in the descriptions of scenes round about Kanouj-*e g.* the village Kālpi, its Shiva temple and its festival at which his plays were staged The rivers Sindhu, Para, and places Madhumati and Padmāvati can still be identified [3] Dr Bhandārkar makes him a native of some place near Chandrapur or Chāndā in C P In face of this diverging evidence it can be said "that the place of Bhavabhuti's nativity was not the scene of his literary triumphs and that these were attained under the patronage of the prince of Hindustan "[4]

This prince of Hindustan was Yashovarman of Kanouj The chronicle of Kashmere mentions another

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1 इति श्री भट्टकुमारिलशिष्यभट्टभवभूतिकृते मालती-माधवे षष्ठोऽङ्कः— Colophone of one ms of M M

2 श्रेष्ठ परमहंसाना महर्षीणा च यथाङ्गिरा । यथार्थनामा भगवान् यस्य ज्ञाननिधिर्गुरु ॥ म वी

3 पद्मावती = पद्मपुर — नरवर–Cunningham

4 Hindu Theatre, Wilson

poet named Vākpatirāj who lived at his court along with Bhavabhūti.[1]

Yashovarman was subdued by Lalitāditya of Kashmir who ruled from 693-729 A. D[2] Vākpati makes a eulogistic reference in his Gaudvahō to the nectar-ocean of Bhavabhūti's poetry which he has laid under[3] The same prākrit poem of Vākpati describes a solar eclipse which has been dated by Jacobi on the strength of Chinese chronology at 14th August 733, A. D This fixes the date of both Vākpati and his preceptor Bhavabhuti.

Bhatta Kumarila who was a preceptor of Bhavabhūti lived just a little prior to Shankarāchārya whose date has pretty nearly been settled to be 800 A D. "Bhavabhūti falls, therefore, between the last decades of the 7th and the early decades of the 8th century." The absence of reference to Bhavabhuti in the long list in Harshacharita is due to the fact that Bāna lived in the first part of 700 A D. The date is further circumscribed by the quotations from Bhavabhūti given by Kshiraswami who was the teacher of Jayāpīda[4]—the grandson of Lalitāditya Amongst other writers that refer to Bhavabhūti are Kshemendra, the contemporary of Anantarāj of Kashmir (1028-1063), Rājashekhara, the priest of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj (903-967 A. D), Dhananjaya and Dhanapāla, patronised by Munjā (974-995 A D) and Vamana (latter half of 800 A. D).

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1 कविवाक्पतिराजश्रीभवभूत्यादिसेवित· ।
जितो ययौ यशोवर्मा तद्गुणस्तुति वन्दिताम् ॥ रा त ४।१४५.

2 Cunningham 695 A D (Pandit)

3 भवभूतिजलनिधिनिर्गतकाव्यामृतरसकणा इव स्फुरान्ति । गौडवव

4 751-785 A D Dr Bhandarkar M M

The two traditions that fix the contemporaneity of Bhavabhūti and Kālidāsa have not got any historical truth. The भोजप्रबन्ध of Ballāla makes Kālidāsa, Bhavabhuti, Bāna, Mayūr simultaneously enjoy the patronage of Bhoja, the king of Dhār But the work can only be received as an authority for the priority of the writers described in it to the date of its own composition, or as an authority for their gradation according to their literary merits, the grouping whether of place or time being altogether fanciful The other tradition refers to the change of Anuswāra in the line—अविदितगतयामा रात्रिरेव व्यरंसीत्।

This date is in harmony with the internal evidence The horrid element and sentiment described in the fifth act of M M—the conduct of the two blood-thirsty characters, Aghorghanta and Kapālakundalā is similar to what we find in some places in the Dashakumāracharita of Dandi, (700 A D) and in the fourth uchhvāsa of Harshacharita of Bāna The scenes appear to be characteristic of the same age. The society painted in the plays belongs to the same age The manners are purely Hindu without any foreign admixture Women of rank could appear in public without a tiraskarini (mask) "The licensed existence of Budha ascetics, their access to the great and their employment as teachers of science are other peculiarities characteristic of an early date The worship of Shiva in his terrific form and the prevalence of the practices of yoga are indications of a similar tendency With respect to the yogins by whom mystic rites were mostly cultivated, it may be observed that there are many reasons for giving them a remote date" The people were running mad after the dreadful and heinous in

1 Wilson, Theatre

Tantrism for the every accomplishment of their object. The most decided evidence of an early date is furnished by the allusions to the Vedas and to some parts of the Hindu ritual which are not now familiarly known and which there is reason to think, have long fallen into disuse.[1]"

Bhavbhūti wrote three plays Mahāvircharita, Mālati-Mādhav and Uttarrāmcharita There is one stanza[2] that is ascribed to Bhavbhūti It occurs in शार्ङ्गधरपद्धति but not in any one of his plays. The subject of two plays is taken from the Rāmāyana while of the third from the Brihatkathā. The three plays together develop and solve one very important problem in human life. The first, Mahāvircharita depicts the boy-hood, its sincerity, innocence and reverence for elders The second, Mālati-Mādhav, has for its subject the flippant youth, its impetuousness ardentness, sentimentality, reverence and regard for the object of love and sincere sacrifice for love The third, Uttarāmo, depicts an advanced house holder who cautiously treads on the path of worldly life who is more careful for the opinion of others, whose conscience always struggles with the sense of duty and whose duty comes out triumphant. There is first the childhood or boy-hood with all its buoyancy, with a strong reverence and regard for the elders with all the halo of innocence Play is the aim-all and end-all of its activities. The child enters youth with its powerful sentiments upon which ideals are formed, for which lives are sacrificed. The youth with all its potentialities leaves the world of hard and dry facts and enters the world of ideals or romance. Exhibitions

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1 Wilson, Theatre

2. निरवद्यानि पद्यानि यदि नाट्यस्य काक्षतिः ।
भिक्षुकक्षा विनिक्षिप्तः किमिक्षुर्नीरसो भवेत् । शा. प

of heroism and chivalry are attempted The hopes, the desires, the attempts, the ambitions are in full force and at times race is run even after phantoms. Lastly comes the stage of advanced age with its maturity of thought and action An old man is an experienced man who has travelled through all the din of misery, is impressed with the futility of the youthful effervescence of energy, looks back with sorrow on the innocence of childhood and treads very cautiously the life that is left. This obviously fixes the order of the plays The internal evidence of structure language and ideas points out to one and the same authorship of the plays. The beautiful verses that are commonly found in the plays prove that Bhavabhūti was first a poet and then a dramatist. The fine thoughts that may have occurred to him in a happy moment of inspiration may have been translated by him in a poem The poet must have had a good stock of such fine strains and he must have, on presentation of a suitable opportunity on a dramatic situation drawn upon that stock.

The Mahāvīrcharita and the Uttarrāmcharita try to bridge over the communal differences between the Brāhmins and Kshatriyas. The fight reaches its climax in the altercation (M V act 3rd) in which both the parties pour down on each other the bitterest venom The soothing influence comes from Rāma The plays also describe the pleasures of happy companionship of persons not given to the matters of this world, always engrossed in high thinking, and trying to create a paradise on this earth

The plays of Bhavabhūti are very charming chamber-poems rather than stage dramas Though he says that they were staged on the occasion of the festival of Kālapriyanātha of Ujjain still it is very difficult to imagine the

nature of stage-contrivances that were used to show the talk of Jatāyu and Sampāti-two birds, the talk of two beings of the fairy world-विद्याधर and विद्याधरी or the किन्नर-मिथुन in M V., the movements of persons in an aerial car, the concealment of Sitā underground, the sudden disappearance of Mālati, the offering of an oblation in a sacrifice. &c

Mahaviracharita

The Māhavīracharitra depicts all the important items and characters in the early life of Rāma The first act gives the talk between Vishvāmitra Sīradhvaja, Rāma, Laxman, Sitā and Urmilā, the reviving of Ahalyā, the proposal of marriage made by Sarvamāya, priest of Rāvana the death of Tātakā, Subāhu and Mārıcha, the bestowal of jrimbhakāstra and the settlement of marriage on the breaking of a bow A plot is hatched by Mālyavān and Shurpanakha to set up a quarrel between Rāma and Parashurāma The third act gives the famous altercation between Shatānand Kaushika and Jāmadagnya. All the details that brought about Rāma's exile,-the insinuations of Mantharā, the boons of Kaikayi and Rāma's determination to proceed to the forest are given in the fourth The incidents that happened in Kishkindhā are given in the fifth *viz* the description of Dandakā, Bibhishana's message through Shramanā, the death of Vāli The sixth act describes the fight between Rāma and Rāvana Rāvana is killed in the last act.

There are thirty-seven characters in all (24 males, 13 females) excluding the minor ones such as spirits, demons and attendants Tongue is given to cities *e g.* Lankā and Alakā in M. V and to rivers, *e. g.* Tamasā and Muralā in U. R.

Rāma is the hero of the play He has been ascribed quite a mystic birth[1] as is seen in the case of all great men Sīradhwaja, the brother of Janaka and the two daughters are impressed very much with his mystic powers[2] For the transparency of his heart he is complimented by his brother[3] He is not at all perturbed when the ambassador of Rāvana announces the wish of his master of getting the hand of Sītā He is reluctant to kill Tātakā but kills her on the responsibility of the sages[4] Rāma of Bhavabhūti, especially of M V., does not command from us that reverence on account of his extremely sacrificing spirit as in the case of Rāma of Vyās or for the matter of that even Rāma of U.R In his connection with Parashurāma, Rāma has recourse to sly words and even in the midst of emergency he leaves the scene quite abruptly at a time when no man of a tolerably chivalrous spirit could have left And why does he leave? Apparently of course at the invitation of his mother-in-law Secondly Parashurāma is won over and is made to relinquish his unfailing weapens—certainly by tickling his high sense of self-praise, by lauding his qualities and the moment that Parashurāma throws off his weapons, Rāma takes them up in his hand and catches the first opportunity to put them touse.

Rāma of Bhavabhūti is born to suffer and not to vindicate The injustice is avenged by the circumstances

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1 प्राप्ताः कृच्छ्रादृश्यशृगोपचारै । पुण्यश्लोका कोशलेन्द्रेण पुत्रा

2 द्वितीयस्य च वर्णस्य प्रथमस्याश्रमस्य च । अहो रम्ये इमे मूर्ती वयसो नूतनस्य च ।

3 अतिसौजन्यादार्यस्य तस्मिन्नपि निसर्गवैरिणि निशाचरे बहुमान

4. युष्माकमभ्युपगमा प्रमाणं पुण्यपापयो ।

or by the Time-Spirit and Rāma the sufferer becomes a tool in its hand. People sympathise with him in his bereavement, not because the enemy has done so much injustice to him but because he has suffered so much. Rāvana comes and takes away his wife People talk ill of his wife. A messenger brings the news about the calumny and he abandons her But what does he actually do in getting back his lost wife? The element of chance works in his favour The chance repetition of his own life by Lava and Kusha reminds him of the past incidents and brings home to him the purity and chastity of his wife In this way he is a central tragic figure suffering not through any folly of his own as we find in the characters of Shakespeare. He suffers for others from purely altruistic motives Though the character is defective in not being a psychological whole, still historically the attitude of Rāma, championing the sacerdotal cause of Aryan Brahmin settlers against the aboriginal evil spirits can be defended. Rāma is an immature child always guiding his activities according to the deliberations of elders He acts because he cannot afford to remain inactive but does not act according to his own initiative. He merges his own will in that of others

Another important male character is that of Parashurāma He is an enormously impetuous man. So many times he had made clear to the world what an insult either to him or to his relative meant His father was lightly treated by some king which sin the whole race of the culprit had to expiate by offering themselves as so many victims to his terrible axe It is on account of these frightening antecedents that Sitā and other ladies of

the harem lose the strength of their nerves when they hear that he was making his way towards Rāma He is a man of quick temperament He is irritated easily and pacified also very easily Such persons fall easy victims to the insinuations of wise brains Rāma detects this defect in him and takes advantage of it He tickles him by giving a word of praise of his own self, of his weapons, his parents, his preceptor, and his achievements The encomium proves too sweet a pill to be thrown aside and out he exclaims "राम राम सर्वथैव हृदयंगमोऽसि" This is a triumph for Rāma for which he receives a compliment from the सखीs He is appropriately described by Rāma in

त्रातु लोकानिव परिणत कायवानस्त्रवेद
क्षात्रो धर्म श्रितइव तनु ब्रह्मकोशस्य गुप्त्यै।
सामर्थ्यानामिव समुदय सञ्चयो वा गुणानाम्
आविर्भूय स्थित इव जगत्पुण्यनिर्माणराशि ॥

Of the other characters, Laxmana is an impetuous, impervious youth, Rāvana is unrepentant, unyielding, uncompromising, imprudent, braggart, overconfident of his own power and dignity, Mālyawān is optimistic and aggressive and the rest are philosophers

Of the female charactes, only two, Sitā and Shramanā, help the development of the action Sitā and other girls are introduced as witnessing the martial feats of Rama and Laxmana—the breaking of the Shiva-bow, the death of Tātakā and Subāhu It is, therefore, no wonder that they desire to be wedded with the boy-warriors. When Parashurāma, inflamed as he is, makes his way through the harem for Rāma and when Rāma cannot be prevailed upon to withhold and the issues are quite clear, Sitā casts

off her mask of bashfulness and stops Rāma from proceeding further. Occasion demanding, she proves true to the dignity and honour of herself and her family.

Shramanā is a highly cultured lady She serves a guide to Rāma on his path and gives him a good deal of valuable and useful information In point of culture and gentility she can be compared with Vāsanti or Kāmandaki or Shankrityāyani.

Malati–Madhao

The present play is an apt illustration of what the author says about the drama. A drama, according to him, should contain many incidents full of sentiments It should present the romantic gambols of lovers There should be plots and counter-plots, clothed into finely woven texture of language It should be a mirror to the society. This exactly applies to Mālati-Mādhao The plot-texture is arranged on an expansive plan having in the main the incident of Bhurivasu and Deorāta, progressing with the help of Kāmandaki. The free handling and exchange of the two very powerful means—बकुलावली and चित्रफलक, help the plot in making rapid progress Various are the maids and men who assuage the troubles of the lovers but the real maid is बकुलमाला and the real 'best man' is चित्रफलक These two delicate means of union belong to the world of idealism in which the poet profoundly rambles The characters are ideal, living in an ideal world passing an ideal time, in an ideal company, in ideal gardens.

The tiger-episode gives an occasion for the display of chivalry on the part of Makaranda, who proves his

mettle and deserves his lady-love Mādhao fails to rise to the occasion and he faints but recovers by the touch of Mālati's hand The fourth act is the keystone in the arch of plot-architecture The words of Madayantikā " Let us start the preparations for the marriage " point out to the प्रयत्न The removal of the obstruction or the obviation of the misoccurrence comes later on

Mālati censures her father for his mercilessness When Mādhava sees that all hope of securing Mālati is gone, he sees no other suitable occupation but the most detestable one—the sale of human flesh. The fifth act gives us some idea about the horrid blood-philosophy of the time The goddess and her human oblations, the charms and the wands, the spirits and the goblins were the signs of the times The Budhism and the Jainism were waning and the doctrine of Ahimsā underwent the greatest reaction.

From the point of dramatics, it is a good interlude between two quiet events The fifth act gives a good occasion for Mādhao to display his chivalry (as Makaranda did in the Tiger-episode) Madhao shows that he is a fighter of no less mettle His friend's fight is directed against beastly strength But his is a fight directed against the baneful social evil which in the name of religion was corroding the society

The action becomes static in the sixth act The drama should have practically ended there The poet's muse is free from the disturbing intricacies of the plot and is enjoying rest and as a result, we meet with specimens of some fine poetry According to the belief of the day, the heroine is brought to the temple of the town-deity on the day prior to the day of marriage, avowedly for the

riddance of evil but expressly for the secret marriage managed by Kāmandaki. The unwholesome foreign element is scared from the temple and the inner chamber of it by an order that the bride-elect has to put on the marriage costume and ornaments It is, therefore, a good place for the lovers to meet

The seventh act is devoted to the progress of the sub-plot which had to be set aside owing to the importance of the main one The characters were seriously busy in bringing to a happy and successful issue the love-affair of Mālati and Mādhao But when that is in sight they find time to look to the side-affair The happiest moment in the life of Nandana is made to turn upon him in an ironic way. He was to be wedded to the fairest damsel but time turns against him so much that not only is he not married with her but he finds his own sister abducted. Makaranda enters into the very heart of the harem disguised as an intending member of it—to be joined in wedlock and thus is able to work an effective breach in the plans of Nandana Another impediment crops up and seems for a moment to foil their hopes and to threaten their fulfilment for ever The suddenness and the inevitability of it baffle even the superior wisdom of Kāmandaki who creates good prospects for the lovers' union Aghorghanta and Kapālkundalā are waiting in ambush to fall foul upon Mālati since she is taken off from their hands at the time of sacrifice An opportunity comes and they wreak greater vengeance upon their prey, Mālati, as a result of which all characters prepare for suicide in utter disappointment

The plot is prolonged by two acts due to this serious impediment. The two acts achieve nothing in the ad-

vancement of either the plot or characters The characters are the same as they were at the end of the seventh What is done is done worse and at times threatens to undo what has been done Howsoever firm their attachment may be towards each other, it should not have driven them to have recourse to suicide, which is the greatest weakness in human character The last two acts have some importance in them from the point of view of poetry and description The poet gets time to dwell upon incidental topics and subsidiary characters. Another note-worthy feature is that the elder classics that were up to that time neglected are drawn upon not only in point of ideas but in point of words and situations also.

The suggesting clue of the ninth act appears in the *mention* of Saudāmini—lightning and the pleasures of friendship and union are compared to the transient and unsteady flashes of lightning The कापालिकत्व of the father Bhūrivasu has been referred to by Mālati and subsequently the ghastly scene of Kāpālikā appears, It is such flimsy indications that serve as suggesting clues to what is to come. The sequel must be a natural outcome of what proceedes and should not be made to hang upon such flimsy pegs The suggestion is effective if it strikes the sub-conscious region of our focus The suggestion should be of ideas or of situations rather than of words or it should be by contrast. None of these devices is attempted by the dramatist and, therefore, they are less dramatic Better had they not been done

MADHAO —Kāmandaki describes him as the moon rising from Deorāta He is young in age but advanced in lore. He loves his friend so much that he faints when the latter is engaged in a tiger-fight The possible

blemish in his character revealed by his conduct in the tiger-scene is made good in the horrid scene of Aghoraghanta Mādhao is shown as a fighter for a worthier cause, demolishing and destroying the author of human sacrifice. The only thing that pulls him down a little from the ennobling light in which he is shown is his readiness to take to the sale of human flesh. He secures Mālati as a prize for his bravery displayed by him in her release from the magic clutches and the cannibalic lust of the two ferocious devotees of Shakti.

Another flaw in the character of Mādhao-and it is common with all the important characters in the play-is the readiness for suicide He is a favourite child of fortune Even in the dreadful catastrophe which has baffled the superior wisdom of Kāmandaki, and which is very insurmountable, Saudāmini rises up in the manner of lightning and rescues Mālati

Nandana serves a good counter-foil to the character of Mādhao There are two ways in character-caricature, one by unfolding one by one the best features of the principal character and the other by unfolding the worst features of the rival character. The greater the contrast between the two, the greater the effect. If one is the embodiment of all that is good and beautiful, the other is the embodiment of all that is bad and ugly Mādhao does not only rise by his own merits but rises also by the worst demerits of his rival Nandana. Rightly has Nandana been victimised by his own silliness because not only does he lose his bride but also loses his sister. He should have taken the mask off his bride's face and have thus brought to light the plot of Kāmandaki The villain in a play is always crooked and merciless, with

an untiring zeal for the persecution of the hero and the heroine

Makaranda is a loving friend. He must be very delicate and small. He could very easily be substituted for Mālati How is it that this delicate youth whose frame was as frail as that of a woman could suffer the dreadful nailings of a tiger and rescue the young girl?

Mālati is presented as a timid, coy maiden belonging to a high and noble family She is very particular in keeping the good name of her family untarnished She does not value Mādhao or her life more than the good name of her family, father and mother. Eagerness, straight-forwardness, sincerity, bashfulness, religiosity are some of the prominent virtues shown in her She had a great hope in her father but it is shattered when she finds herself offered by him to secure the good wishes of the Amātya Her mind is tossed like a shuttle There are many ups and downs and many oscillations There are many actualities of unions and separations and also probabilities for a permanent good-bye to her lover Being satisfied with the unflinching veracity and unfailing virility of the wisdom of Kāmandaki and also with the sincerity of Lavangikā, she has made them the custodians of her heart and destiny She is a poor soul and, therefore, falls a victim to the carnivorous and cannibalic eye of Aghorghanta and Kāpālikā All powerful sentiments are of one kith and kin They succeed in making contradictory effects They make their victims both acutely sensitive and also deadly senseless Despondency in life is made of that stuff It is on account of despondency that life had become irksome to her Bhavabhūti and Shakespeare both have depicted love, rushing headlong

against all impediments in the characters of Mālati and Juliet respectively. The long-standing family-fued comes in the way of final fruition of their love, the impeded pace of which is accelerated through the attempts of nunlike Kāmandaki and monklike Friar Mālati's passion differs from Juliet's not of course in intensity but "in the unconquerable reserve even to the extent of denying her utterances to him she loves more than her life,—a restraint to which the manners of Hindu women were subjected even while they were in enjoyment, as appears from the drama, of considerable personal freedom" [1] Not only Mālati but all heroines suffer from the same restraint, Vasantsenā only being excepted.

Kāmandaki is the main moving figure in the drama who very skilfully manipulates the course of the incidents. She probably belongs to the Jain order and not the Budhistic She was a co-student with Bhurivasu and Deorāta. She appears just in the nick of time when she is most required by the situation Every one has a great confidence in the wisdom and shrewdness of her She loves both the hero and heroine as she would love her own children She is well-versed in religious injunctions "The plan set up by Kāmandaki never fails" (says Makaranda) is the keynote of all her activities Every event, small or great, every notion, religious or secular is moulded by her genius to suit the final catastrophe, a very fine specimen of which is in the sixth act, where the inner sacred chamber of the temple is made use of as a haunt for lovers The pious lady is overcome with filial love so much that she quite in a motherly way breaks out into tears at the handing over of her trust to Mādhao Her

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1 Wilson, Hindu Theatre

secret emissaries in the plot are Lavangikā and Budha-rakshitā. Throughout the play we search in vain for any aspect of their monastic life to which they had been ordained Their sole business is to enter into the secrets of lovers, to create new ones, to suggest remedies when the parties are baffled and again to move in society with good and untainted grace and high status

The whole cosmos is full of miseries What is required is an agency that takes a broom-stick in the hand and sweeps away the misshapen ugly monstrocities as typified here in Aghorghanta and Kāpālikā Both Saudāmini and Kāmandaki belong to this celebrated order or agency. They start on self-sacrifice and disinterestedness and carry on the pious work of sweeping away from the human world the agencies of evil Saudāmini is more sedate, more relieving, more watchful and more effecient than Kāmandaki

Uttar–Rāmcharita

"The subject of this play is a continuation of the play Mahāvīracharita in which the martial exploits of Rāma are dramatized. This play comprises events that occured subsequent to the war which constitutes the subject of the Rāmayana"[1] The hero and the heroine are introduced talking on the miseries that generally beset the householder's life The sage Rishyashrnga has commenced a sacrifice and all the matrons have left for it leaving Sitā alone at home with Rāma to divert her mind The picture-scroll is a means used for diversion It reminds them of their past occurrences—the physical and mental turmoil through which they had to pass The picture-scroll scene

1 Wilson, Hindu Theatre

gives the psychological keynote to the drama. The various films that pass by are so many vivid images of the fancy of the poet and the thoroughness of the fancy goes to the extent of forcing out tears from rocks or of pounding any adamantine heart[1] The scene has two aspects, descriptive and sentimental, the first appearing in the descriptions of clouds, mountains, lakes, rivers, sites, demons, monkey-friends and the other in that of grief of separation, and hardships of life Rāma is in a happy moment when all of a sudden the worst calamity to a householder and to a husband falls on him like a bolt from the blue—the scandal about Sitā. The scene ends in the wreck of the house-hold Rāma sets aside all considerations of love, decency and sympathy and throws his wife to the care of the elements[2]

The second act is separated from the first by a wide gulf of time. The unity of time is not kept up Rāma abandons Sitā at the end of the first and sets out to stop the penance of Shambuka The intervening incidents like the birth of Kusha and Lava, their rearing, their initiation, their study of Vedas and archery, their superior intellect are mentioned in the Vishkambhaka. The action progresses more behind the stage than on it. The stage is used for the sallies of wit and genius. The poet loses himself in the description of sentiment and, therefore, has no consciousness enough to measure how far the plot is progressing. This consciousness comes up towards the end and then he hastens to wind up the events in a Vishkambhaka

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1. अपि ग्रावा रोदित्यपि दलति वज्रस्य हृदयम् ।
2. क्रव्याद्भ्यो बलिमिव निर्घृण क्षिपामि ।

The third act is termed छाया because Sitā moves along with Tamasā invisibly on the stage and notices the pitiful plight that Rāma is in. Sitā has no misgiving about the genuineness of Rāma's love. The act mentions the attack on the cub followed by the description of Rāma's sorrow. Rāma wanders and raves like Purūravas. The action again remains static in this act. The poet loses himself in the description of pathos. Scenes from Dandakā are described.

भाण्डायन and सौधातकी appear in the fourth act and describe the agonised condition of Janaka's mind. The pathos would have been more telling, had it been put in the mouth of the mother of Sitā. But mythology came in the way of the poet. The meeting of Janaka and Kausalyā removes all the misgivings regarding the treatment of Sitā who is treated as a daughter.[1] The introduction of the two boys of the hermitage reminds Sitā of the growth of her two sons. The atmosphere of the hermitage is brought before us by the commotion that is caused among the boys by the sight of the horse. सौधातकी is a free lance among them enjoying the queer look of the long beards and the matted hair of the sages and their ways of offering hospitality. He is new to the hermitage-life. Lava is not simple and timid. He pelts the horse and does not run away at the sight of the refulgent weapons.

The fifth act gives the wordy conflict between Chandraketu and Lava, revealing various features of both the nobility of mind, the discipline, and the knowledge of the code of fighting. It describes the Vir-rasa. The actual fighting, and the havoc in the army take place behind the curtain.

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1 अस्माकं तु जनकसंबन्धेन दुहितृकैव ।

The plight of the forces caused by Lava, the arrival of Chandraketu, the respectful and loving references of Sumantra and Chandraketu about Lava, their speeches, his confusion and the use of Jrimbhakāstras are things that come one after another in a natural way.

The sixth act gives in a विष्कंभक a scene similar to one in M. V where two Gandharvas talk upon the fight between Rāma and Rāvana Here a couple of semidivine beings (विद्याधरs) from their aerial car take a bird's-eye-view of the fight between Lava and Chandraketu. Rāma appears on the scene on his way back from Shambuka, and notices valour displayed by Lava especially in the use of the weapons. The sixth act does mainly the work of gradual evolution of the feelings of Rāma about his sons Lava and Kusha. Kausalyā[1], Sumantra[2] and Rāma[3] notice in the two boys great akinness with Rāma and the identity is unfolded to them step by step and finally it is dicided on the evidence of the use of the जृंभकास्त्रs.

The seventh act gives a drama within drama and as such very vividly reminds Rāma of all that he has done In brief it is an epitome of the outer drama from the point of view of dramatics All the impersonal forces that were acting upon the mind of Rāma in his sub-conscious—the bitings of his conscience that was constantly preying upon his mind, the injustice with which Sitā was abandoned,—have been impersonated by means of this drama within drama The inner commotion of Rāma finds vent through the speeches of the Earth and the Ganges—two

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1 न केवलं देहबन्धेन स्वरेणापि रामभद्रस्यानुकरोति ।

2 धृतधनुष रघुनन्दनं स्मरामि ।

3 अज्ञादज्ञात् स्तुत इव निजस्नेहस्य सार· ।

characters in the drama. The evidence for the purity of Sitā is given by गङ्गा and पृथिवी In the Rāmāyana, Vālmiki himself comes forward and swears to the purity of Sitā and stakes his own penance-merit on its opposite A similar plight in the Shāk. is explained by the रक्षाकरंड which but for the touch of the parents would transform itself into a serpent and bite

CHARACTERIZATION —Rāma is a perfect householder having great regard for religious duty He has no suspicions whatsoever lurking in his mind about Sitā's purity Sitā is pure to him by her very birth, no other purificatory means being necessary.[1] Even after her abandonment, he keeps by him a golden image of Sitā [3] The grief of separation boils up his heart sealed like a medical jug He is thoroughly conversant with the ways of the world He is wordly-wise His form is greatly impressive, his power greatly sanctifying He is as it were the most exalted form of religion in its serene aspect walking in bodily form as Kusha says of him on his first visit Lava in an ironical way tries to find out flaws in his spotless character, *viz* the destruction of Sunda's wife, the three steps which he had to retrace in the fight with Khara and the skill in the destruction of Vāli His character typifies the struggle between the conscience and the sense of duty "The quiet devotedness with which Rāma sacrifices his wife and domestic happiness to the prosperity of subjects is a worthy counter-part to the immolation of his natural affections to public interest [3]"

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1 उत्पत्तिपरिपूतायाः किमस्याः पावनान्तरैः

2 हिरण्मयी सीताप्रतिकृति

3 Wilson, Theatre

Laxmana is a general supervisor in the royal household He diverts the minds of both Rāma and Sitā in the picture-scroll scene It is he who is assigned the mission of taking Sitā in a chariot and leaving her to the care of the elements. It is again he who appears in the last act with a mission of arranging a theatre for staging a drama within drama. The easily excitable temperament is not met with in this play.

The character of Sitā is presented in the purest glow possible in the beginning. Sympathy is created in the mind by seeing her pregnant, of purest character, of commanding appearance and conduct, with sympathetic and affectionate attitude from the elders in the family and with lovely regard for her husband Even such an august personality who has for her mother विश्वंभरा and for her father जनक is made subject to the vilest columny ! She appears to speak in a taunting tone She is very glad to note that the king is still alive to his duties as a king for which he has abandoned his own wife.

Both sitā and Shakuntalā labour under the same disability—the disowning by their husband Actuated by the same motive, Rāma and Dushyanta do not wish to be lowered down in the eyes of the public. Dushyanta does it under the influence of a curse. But Rāma has no such grievance. With his eyes wide open he abandons his sweetheart because he is afraid of flouting the public opinion.

Ātreyi and Vāsanti talk very ideally and poetically. They know the origin of the Rāmāyana and the origin of metre They are sorry for the interruption in their study. Some characters in the play impersonate rivers.

"spirits of the air of the forest who mingle familiarly and affectionately with demigods and sages"

There is no humorous character—Vidushaka in his plays "He omits him whom he could not have handled effectively and, therefore, had to select in place of comic relief, incidents of terrible and horrible type blended with supernatural"[1] The deliberate attempt to create homour in U R (IV) is deplorable

Bhavabhūti is eminently a poet of sentiment His dramas are the comedies of sentiments. The plot and the characters are neglected in preference to the development of sentiments The most prominent sentiments are selected Other intricate ones are only referred to There are so many complex feelings with us, the potency of which is felt but not explained We are not able to say why we take fancy to a particular person or thing[2] Some indescribable feeling it is that deadens our sense[3] Sometimes we are baffled as to whether a particular sensation is happiness or otherwise.[4] His theory about sentiment is expressed in a verse uttered by Tamasā in U R. *viz*

एको रस करुण एव निमित्तभेदाद्भिन्न पृथक् पृथगिवाश्रयते विवर्तान् ।

There is only one master-sentiment which is 'pathos' and all others are different manifestations of it as whirlpools, eddies, bubles, billows are all transformations of water.

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1 K D

2 तत्तस्य किमपि द्रव्य योहि यस्य प्रियो जन
व्यतिषजति पदार्थानान्तर कोऽपि हेतु ।

3 विकार कोऽप्यन्तर्जडयति च ताप च कुरुते

4 विनिश्चेतुम् शक्यो न सुखमिति वा दु:खमिति वा ॥

Another important feature of the poet lies in his nature-descriptions "The temper of Bhavabhūti was akin to the grand and inspiring in nature and life".[1] "He shows a just appreciation of the aweful beauty and grandeur of nature enthroned in solitudes of dense forests, cataracts and lofty mountains He has equally a strong perception of stern grandeur in human character and is successful in bringing out deep pathos and tenderness. His genius was more of a lyric than of a dramatic nature. He had not the art of putting himself into various situations, of forgetting one and becoming quite a new man in another But as the poet of nature and of human passion and feeling he occupies a very high rank".

"Kālidasa has more fancy, greater art, more skill in suggesting Bhavabhūti has originality in plot and conception but no skill in the arrangements of incidents and in denouement."[2]

The style is vigorous and harmonious. It is very rarely simple The poet is 'fond of elaborate overloaded description प्रौढत्वमुदारता च वचसाम् ("richness and elevation of expression") is the keynote of his writings "It suffers from the drawbacks such as long compounds, obsolete words and prepositions, clumsy constructions and grammatical offences It was Bhavabhūti's boast that upon him the goddess of speech and eloquence waited as a submissive maid and so we may not assume with him "rhyme was the rudder to the sense", in other words that his diction was determined by the exigencies of metre or the like. On the contrary his word-order is deliberate, and almost alway artistic "[3]

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1 K D 2 Dr Bhandarkar M M
3 Dr Belwalkar U R (preface) H O S

CHAPTER VI

Shri Harsha, The Patron-Poet

Shri Harsha is another poet belonging to the high category of kings like Shūdraka. He was a great patron of learning Opinion is divided as regards the identity of Shri Harsha

(*i*) There was first the king Harsha of Kanauj and Sthaneshwar He was the same as Shilāditya referred to by Huoen Tsang. His father Prabhākara, the enemy of Hunas and Gurjars, died in 604 A D leaving two sons Rajavardhana and Harshavardhana, of whom the former faught with Deogupta who had put to death Grhavarman, husband of Rajyashri Shashānka of Bengal and a friend of the Guptas killed him. There was a scuffle between Shri Harsha and Pulakeshi II This Shri Harsha lived in the first half of the seventh century (604-648 A. D)

(*ii*) There was another king Shri Harsha, king of Kashmire, who was also a great patron of learning and author of several compositions The treatises were in fact written by other hack-writers (possibly by Dhāvaka). Kalhana gives the line beginning from संग्राम-हरि-अनन्त-कलश-हर्ष This Harsha lived between 1113 and 1125 A D

(*iii*) The third Harsha is the author of the famous epic Naishadhīya

Of the three, the third cannot be the author of the plays as his poem does not refer to any one of them or to any situation or character in them though it mentions a

number of works at the end[1] Besides there is no resemblance whatsoever either verbal or conceptual. The second also cannot be the author of the plays because authorities belonging to a time prior to 1113 A.D refer to the dramatization of his plays—(Itsing refers to the performance of Nāgānanda and Damodaragupta, contemporary of Jayāpida of Kashmire (779-813) refers to that of Ratnāvali in his Kuttinimata)

The author (or the patron) of the plays must be the king Harsha of Kanauj (604-648). He had patronised Bāna It is his patronage of learning that has given rise to the theory that the plays must have been written by some poets at his court and must have been ascribed to him. It is maintained that Ratnāvali is written by Bāna though there is a volume of internal evidence that militates against it. The power of imagination, the harmony and picturesqueness of words, the flashes of genius found everywhere in Kādambari are rarely met with in Ratnāvali All the same it has to be admitted that the difference in the nature of the two themes treated in Nāgānanda and Ratnāvali, the tenets of the two rival religions, do not fail to raise the suspicion as regards the one penmanship of the three dramas There are clearly two hands, nay, three hands that are at work in the plays Of the three plays, two have got the same theme while the third stands independently by itself with regard to the author and the theme.

The author is under obligation to Kālidāsa whose plays have been laid under both in point of situations and dialogues. From the M. A. he has taken the idea

1 It refers to स्थैर्यविचारण, श्रीविजयप्रशस्ति, नवसाहसाङ्क, छन्दप्रशस्ति and खण्डनखण्डन.

of a jealous queen The garden scene, the imprisonment scene and the recognition scene in the last act of Rāt are borrowed from M A. From the V U he has taken the idea of a dutiful queen The disregard of the king's protestations and the consequent प्रियाप्रसादन are there in both Besides this, there are similarities of both thought and expression In imagination and grace he is inferior to Kālidāsa

Ratnāvalī

Credit is given to Shri Harsha for starting a new era in the history of both Hindu manners and literature by writing the play Ratnāvalī The story in the play was already extensively popular in society "Ratnāvalī indicates a wider deviation from manners purely Hindu, more artificial refinement and more luxurious indulgence and proportionate deterioration of moral feeling Considered from a purely literary point of view, Ratnāvalī marks a change in the principle of dramatic composition It may be taken as one of the connecting links between the old and new schools [1]

The plot in the play is simple and straightforward It recounts the incident happening in a king's household A number of small events scarcely recognised as we read, push on the action and call from moment to moment on the intellectual eye to follow them They are only a back-ground for the characters The real merit of the play lies in the skill of selecting the happy and romantic incidents, *viz* the breaking loose of the monkey, the muttering out of the secret by Sārikā, a bird, the संकेत and the अभिसरण of the sweet-heart the consequent jealousy of the queen, the प्रियाप्रसादन etc The story of वत्स, the king of

1 Wilson, Theatre

Kausambi, is connected with that of the Ceylonese King The theme of the play as given in the prelude is a flimsy one The play illustrates the principle that big distances are always very easily bridged over if fate wills it The minister यौगन्धरायण appears in the first act and talks upon the prophecy about the marriage and the consequent prosperity of the king. There is then the description of the city-people and the celebration of the वसंतोत्सव The king in a happy mood describes the मकरन्दोद्यान. The queen performs the मदनपूजा The act is named as मदनमहोत्सव

The second act gives the consternation caused by the breaking loose of the monkey The picture-board is left behind by Sāgarikā. The Sārikā bird who hears the whole love-affair repeats it verbatim to the king The Sārikā scene is highly imaginative and serves a good deal in the economy of plot by saving the introduction of some characters How far the Sārikā was able to utter human accents and how far it was successful from the point of stage-effect is a question. The name of वासवदत्ता which is uttered unwittingly by Vidushaka awakens the king who drops down the hand of his sweet-heart. The Vidushaka drops the picture-board and creates confusion (as the birch-leaf in V U) and puts the king in an awkward situation The second act is the longest, being full of humorous and funny incidents, feats of his folly, verging on both sides of sanity. It ends in creating anger and jealousy in the queen over the love-affair of the king and Sāgarikā

The third can very fitly be called "a comedy of errors," created by a maid-servant who happens to overhear the conversation between Vidushaka and Susamgatā about dressing Sāgarikā in the apparel of the queen. The scene

is effective and natural. This conversation is reported to the queen who wants to take advantage of it. The queen puts on the dress of Sāgarikā and waits upon the king who quite unawares expresses to her his mental anguish created by Sāgarikā When the whole secret is out, when the culprits are caught red-handed, Vidushaka and Sāgarikā consent to be bound over to the queen This act is called संकेत

The fourth act gives the ऐन्द्रजालिक scene The scene is depicted with humour and vivacity The introduction of the juggler is a manœuvre of the minister Vidushaka wants to test his magic by asking him to produce Sāgarikā before the king The arrival of Vasubhūti puts an abrupt end to the scene The plot which is being shrouded up in mystery is gradually resolved Vasubhūti explains the incidents one after another But there again comes a great uproar on account of fire in the palace The अभिज्ञान comes towards the end of the fourth act यौगन्धरायण appears and explains everything. He is the author of the whole mystery.

The King Vatsa is the hero of the play according to the conventional notions of dramatics though the action in all its stages is manipulated by the minister Yaugandharāyana The second marriage which forms the business in Rat appears to be the invention of the writer as it is very differently told in Brihatkathā, the heroine being named पद्मावती and being a princess of Magadha and not of Ceylon He is described as one having desisted from warlike activities, being full of love and comparable to the god of love He is a gay monarch very much fond of jubilations and rejoicings He is so very beautiful that Sāgarikā wishes to see him often and often Just towards

the end, he is presented as taking interest in matters other than those of love, e g the battle with his enemies, his encampment, the condition of his army and the exploits of his soldiers In the first three acts he appears to be a hopeless king whose sole function of life appears to dance to the tunes of love, now with one woman, now with another This aspect of his nature is changed towards the end. He is a political king having high regard for the envoys, taking delight in acrobatic feats, presenting them with gifts He is most nervous when he learns that his own harem is on fire He rushes into the flames of the fire in a chivalrous spirit in order to rescue Sāgarikā who is kept in a lock-up by the queen As a reward for the bold deed he receives Sāgarikā from the hands of the queen.

Yaugandharāyana is the sagacious and astute minister of the king. He appears in the beginning of the play, then goes away again to appear at the end He pulls the threads of the action though he is all the while behind the curtain. The whole plot appears to be the play of his imagination. He sets the ball rolling and the other characters satisfy the conditions laid down by him or add their strength in accelerating the motion of the ball The prosperity of his master is the goal which he sets his heart on. He even wants to take advantage of the course of stars or the science of astrology. He directs all his energies to the fruition of the prophecy about the king's sovereignty of the world dependent upon his marriage with Ratnāvali. The father's wish—giving no offence to Vāsavdattā—is also overcome very skilfully by circulating a false report that the queen is burnt down in Lāvānaka fire The ship in which the princess is escorted is wrecked but fortunately she gets a plank for support and is carried back by a

merchant of Kausambi The ऐन्द्रजालिक is also one of his manœuvres

Sāgarikā or Ratnāvali is a daughter of the king of Ceylon She is called Sāgarikā because she is rescued from a wrecked ship Of her it is foretold that the man to whom she is to be married is to assume world-sovereignty Her father wishes that she should be married to Vatsa but could not make a proposal himself as it would offend Vāsavadattā, his niece. He consents on hearing that the queen is burnt in the Lāvānaka fire But the girl as she is escorted to the new spouse is drowned in the ocean She catches a board and is further rescued by a merchant who produces her in the court of the king. She has a रत्नमाला with her which later on is used as a means of recognition and identification

Vāsavadattā is a jealous queen like all queens in other dramas The Vidushaka fails at most critical junctures, drops down from his armpit the चित्रफलक in the presence of the queen He suspects the high parentage of the girls The articles of the kitchen form his usual topics Susamgatā is a companion of Ratnāvali. Sāgarikā's life was already like a wrecked vessel but it is ruddered properly by Susamgatā and steered through the din of the miserable life and ultimately is brought to a safe harbour

The Ratnāvali is more a drama than a poem while the Priyadarshikā is more a poem than a drama "The poetry of the Ratnāvali is merely mechanical We have no fanciful illustrations, nor novel and beautiful similitudes, nor do any sentiments worthy of notice occur except the generous remark made by Vatsa on the death of the king of Kosala The belief in vulgar magic or common conjuring which is repeatedly expressed in

the drama is worthy of remark as it is something new. The supernatural powers described in M M are of a very different description from the art that makes a flower blossom out of season or covers a building with illusory flames' [1]

Priyadarshika

The play is another romance of love written by Shri Harsha on the same theme as that of Ratnāvali—the ideal love-story of Vāsavdattā and Vatsa. It is a description of a gambol of love in the royal household The homely details in the royal household have been transfigured by the subtle touch of the magic of poetry. The two plays are obviously the variations of one and the same theme "The double comedy in Priyadarshikā is a happy thought, the intrigue in act IV is neatly conducted so as to show Vāsavadattā in the light of an affectionate niece and the scene with the bee is attractive" The story of Udayana as given in Kathāsaritsāgara[1] is as follows: "Udayana entrusts his kingdom to his minister Yougandharāyana. Mahāsena wishes to get his daughter Vāsavadattā married with the king though he is his enemy. Mahāsena, therefore, is not sure of acceptance and thinks upon a plan by which he exploits the king's fondness for hunting. A wooden elephant is constructed and placed at a certain place The inside of the elephant is full of armed men who attack and imprison the king when he is alone He is further taken to Mahāsena who promises him liberty on the condition that he instructs Vāsavadattā in singing and dancing. But the teacher runs away with

1 Wilson Theatre

his female disciple, an act which is endorsed by the father of the bride"

There are some minor changes effected by the poet in the original (*e g* वासवदत्ता daughter of प्रद्योत etc) The latter part of the दीर्घिका scene is an exact echo of a similar scene in Shākuntala in which the heroine complains of the trouble from a humming bee In the third act, there is a गर्भनाटक which is quite a prototype of the outer drama (as in U R) and which is enacted with the aim of bringing about the union of both the king and Āranyakā with the least perturbation to the queen

The king Vatsa is introduced as a prince of martial ardour, taking delight in the accounts of warfare The general comes and gives an account of a recent skirmish with Vindhyaketu and places the spoils of war before the king Rumanvat also gives an account of a successful campaign against the king of Kosala He is very beautiful The moment he is seen by Āranyakā, she compliments her father for making a right selection. Vatsa boasts of the strange adventure which he has to encounter for his love He is once imprisoned by the father of Vāsavadattā and is asked to instruct her in the fine arts The captive not only instructs but wins over the affection of the princess and runs away with her

Vāsavadattā is like all other queens in Sanskrit dramas, very religious, worshiping some deity, the sun or the moon, making over presents to Brahmins, observing fasts, and consequently presenting an emaciated appearance.

Āranyakā is a high-born girl She is sorry to find herself reduced to a position in which she is required to obey orders rather than to give them In this lamentable

condition she prefers to remain incognito. She does not wish to disclose her high pedigree and is willing to put up with any kind of mental torture She is so shy and bashful that she does not speak out her heart even to her bosom friend and prefers to put an end to her life

Sankritvāyani is an old venerable lady belonging to the king's household She acts the same part that is acted by परिव्राजिका in the M A. This old lady is a party to the plot which is laid for bringing about the union of the king with Aranyakā. She is a distant relation of the queen who reveres her as her mother and consequently she commands respect from every one including even the king She is consulted in all matters of importance and her advice is always sought for guidance She very shrewdly detects the disturbance in the routine behaviour of the king. She sets aside her imposing elderliness and joins with Manoramā and Vidushaka in finding out means to restore the mental quietude. She with the other coadjutors hits on a very charming plan of presenting on the stage the romantic adventure in the love of Vatsa and just in the thick the king is very stealthily and silently allowed to glide on the stage as a substitute for Manoramā who is acting the hero in the गर्भनाटक. She is fully successful in the mission assigned to her by the poet She is a woman of imposing personality, commanding respect from both the parties, whose advice can be listened to, who can avoid the gulf from widening, who shows complete disinterestedness in the events of this world, who takes a light view of love, who pities the lovers but does not accuse and in short whose function of life is to give a comic and joyful turn to the melancholy appearance of this world

Nāgānanda

This play is a play of romance of rather a serious nature The principal characters are semi-divine The hero is a Vidyādhara and the heroine is a Sidhā The incidents take place in a तपोवन by the side of the Malaya mountain. The story is based on the विद्याधरजातक referring to the tenets that Lord Budha preached during his life-time The internal evidence does not corroborate the theory about its authorship which is ascribed to Shri Harsha The theme, the tenets, the characters the deities worshiped and invoked in the Nāndi and the outer garb go against it The writer perhaps obliviates his personality and existence in that of his royal patron in recognition of his patronge In the present play the whole philosophy of human life is given expression to by Jimūtavāhana, the hero of the play who is just a mouthpiece of the poet The tenets of Budhism which Harsha lived and loved, devotion to parents, the lack of interest in the kingdom, the disgust over the heaps of bones of Nāgās, the revulsion of feeling towards worldly affairs are all the doctrines of the authors to promulgate and to propagate which he wrote the play

The first act gives three scenes—the Malaya scene in which nature is described by the hero in all its grandeur the temple-scene in which the seed of the action is sown in a dialogue between the hero and the heroine, lastly, there is the ascetic scene The last scene achieves a good deal from the point of dramatic economy The ascetic sees the couple together and is very glad to find from the foot-prints that the person is a sovereign The scene of the first act is laid in a तपोवन on the out-skirts of the Malaya mountain which is the creation of the poet's fancy and

the hero and the heroine and the parents. They all are anxious on account of his sudden disappearance Garuda comes but is struck with the high mettle of his prey. He is set athinking He repents for his carnage The parties are united in the end

The hero Jimūtavāhana is a young man with a strong poetic and romantic vein He is an idealist out and out He is always caught by a strong momentary impulse and he runs after it Not even for a moment does he come down to a level from which he can realize that there is something like a practical world which he has to deal with He is very eager to render service to his parents, sees no other happiness but serving them. He goes to the Malaya mountain at the behest of his father who wants to find a suitable place for retirement There he comes across with Malayavati. Since that time he is totally transformed. He loses his former courage, and devotes very little time to the service of his parents He becomes quite restless, and wants to attest the events in his dream. He puts Mitrāvasu on a wrong track The proposal that comes from him is the most agreeable one but he gives a point-blank and a definite nay In this character, there is first the impulse of devotion to parents, then comes love, after that, pity Pity is then followed by the desire for sacrificing his best interests Lastly comes the sufferance for a worthy cause The defects that are responsible in wrecking the hearts of those that are attached to him are due to his impulsive or sentimental nature The marriage with Malayavati which he prized most is shown no preference before the वध्यशिला to which he clings Even the motherly regard and affection which is shown at the beginning to be the guiding principle of his life

is of no consequence to him before the उत्संग of the slab of slaughter. The garuda takes him away but does not devour him being impressed with his augustness

Shankhachūda is a Nāga At the behest of his master he proceeds to the वध्यस्थान for offering himself as a prey to the Eagle The तार्क्ष्य is requested by the Nāga king not to pounce upon them as by the rumbling sound of his wide wings a good many Nāga females suffer abortions. This anecdote seems to have been copied from M. Bhārata in which भीम offers himself a victim to one Bakāsura The same incident is treated at length by Bhāsa in his मध्यमव्यायोग The scene in this play is very pathetic We get here the lamentation of a mother for her son who is soon to be killed by the eagle The grief is a genuine one She is afraid of her son's death and sees Garuda everywhere and in everyone. Jimutavāhana is much moved by the pitious accents of the old woman and requests the boy to hand over to him the emblems of a victim The scene is a master-piece as a scene of pathos. The poet has done well in creating a strong dramatic irony of situation in presenting the red robes of a marriage ceremony and turning them to quite a different account as the funeral suit.

The whole scene of Shankhachūda appears to be a parody deliberately planned to illustrate the horrors of a ruling incident of the time. In the first place it cannot be justified by the theory of causation Dramatically it does not rise out of any incident. Historical and rational interpretation appears to be this. The Nāgas, a race of people, very devout followers of the law of Lord Budha, must have been persecuted The Nāgas were the aborigines in India and were the first to embrace the new faith

of Lord Budha They were called Nāga's not because they were serpent-born but because they by means of some mechanism managed to have the hood of a cobra upon their heads as a protecting sign The scene by means of the pun upon the word Nāga surely hints at the persecution of the followers of Budhism

Vidushaka is a man of the world When the prince wants to retire to a forest he places before him the most practical view He shows much boldness which borders upon officiousness The Vita is another character that creates humour in the play but his humour comes of a stronger vein and is, therefore, offensive He has in one hand a goblet and in the other flattery He is depicted as a perfect type of a confirmed sensualist 'Eat, drink and be merry' seems to be the philosophy of his life.

The Shekharaka pursues a certain young woman in a fit of drunkenness He belongs to the lewd circles in the society. What he calls love is nothing but bodily lust He uses woman but does not love her His speeches are full of hateful phrases, images gross and abominable He is a prototype of Shakāra in M K

Malayavati is the heroine of the play She comes from a Sidharāja family She is introduced like Mahāshwetā singing the prayers of Gauri The marriage is proposed and the selection of the bridegroom made by her father But the proposal is rejected by the bride-groom She feels offended when she listens to the unpleasent answer from him She is determined to put an end to her life like all other heroines of Harsha Both she and her husband are good natured but just after the wedlock both are placed in the teeth of some dangerously momentous issues. The bride-groom does not recognise the solemnity of

marriage contracts and offers his life for whosoever is in trouble

With regard to characterization, Harsha has got no retributive justice The catastrophe is not the outcome of any defect in any character. In both the hero and the heroine, " Harsha depicts emotions of self-sacrifice, charity, magnanimity and resolution in the teeth of death "

In all the characters of Shri Harsha, his heroines leave a greater impression on the minds than what his heroes do The heroines are loving maids They prefer to die for the love which they cherish They are not jealous of the first queen They do not like to divulge the secret even to their bosom friends They are all princesses who pass off to the harem of the king on account of some mishap to the father's family The heroes are a bit over-drawn They are not steady in their emotions. Both Vatsas are पतङ्गवृत्तिs (acting like moths)

The style is simple and expressive though less imaginative and graceful

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CHAPTER VII

Bhatta Nārāyan

Venisamhār—The Romance of War

Bhatta Nārāyana, the author of the play Venisamhāra, is a Brahmin having the surname सिह expressed in the title मृगराजलक्ष्मा[1] सिह is a surname of a high family in Bengal where it migrated from Kanauj for enjoying the patronage of the dynasty of Kanvas ruling over both Kanauj and Bengal prior to the Pāl dynasty of the eighth century (730 A D) The tradition contained in the Vangarāja Ghataka ascribes this patronage to one Adisur who perhaps must be one of the rulers in that dynasty. The Tagore tradition says that this Adisur summoned him from Kanauj Konow suggests that the dynasty to which Ādisur belonged was identical with the Guptas of Magadha since Ādityasena made himself independent of Kānyakubja Adisur is thus made the same as Ādityasena who was alive in 671 A D

The philosophic doctrines contained in the verses[2] make him a follower of Bhāgavata or the Vaishnavait sect particularly of the Pancharātra cult The influence of sacerdotalism is clear from the comparison of the fight with sacrifice and such other utterances as चत्वारो वयमृत्विज

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1 तदिद कवेर्मृगराजलक्ष्मणो भट्टनारायणस्य कृति वेणीसंहार नाम नाटकम प्रयोक्तुमुद्यता वयम्

2 आत्मारामा विहितरतयो निर्विकल्पे समाधौ ।

The strong revulsion of feeling against the Chārvākas, the materialists of India, is expressed in the denunciation of the wickedness of चार्वाक a character purely of the poet's invention

A number of rhetoricians have drawn upon the Venisamhāra for illustrating canons in poetics the chief amongst whom are Mammata, Kshiraswami, Dhanamjaya, Anandvardhana, Vāmana, ranging approximately from 1100 A D. upwards to 700 A D. Mammata belonged to 1100 A.D [1] Dhananjaya, the celebrated author of Dasharupaka was a protege of king Munjā[2] (972-995 A D) and Anandavardhana was that of king Avantivarman of Kashmire[3] (855-883 A D.). Rājashekhara who has laid himself under the influence of all poets that lived before him, in ideas, words and scenes owes much to Bhatta Nārāyana and Rājashekhara lived contemporaneously with his admirer Shankarvarman of Kashmire (883-902 A D) and his disciple Mahendrapāla of Kanauj (890) The chronology about Vāmana is divided on account of the plurality of वामनs, one being the author of काव्यालंकारसूत्रवृत्ति, the other being the minister of Jayāpida (779-813) and the third one being the grammarian, the author of Kāshikā Vāmana quoting from a drama must be a rhetorician and not a grammarian and can be identified with the second whose date is fixed in the first half of the eighth century. Sifting all the evidence, we can fix the date of Bhatta Nārāyana in either the first part of the eighth century or the end of the seventh century

Bhatta Nārāyana was a firm divotee of Krishna and had a strong leaning towards the Sānkyan philosophy,

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1 Chandorkar K D.   2 and 3 V A Smith

a fact which is borne out by the internal evidence He was also a student of Karma-mimāmsā

The drama differs a little from others in the presentation of the introduction The principal character Bhima appears on the stage cursing the wretched actor for having uttered a blessing to the Kurus The प्रस्तावना is of the कथोद्घात type similar to one in M R In the short space of one act he has not only prepared one side for fight but he has also offered an analysis in psychology in showing the different stages in the anger of Bhīma The utterance of Sutradhāra who as usual unwittingly wishes good to the Kurus, the weakness of Yudhisthira, his readiness for an alliance on the condition of five villages, the entrance of Draupadi, and the recounting of insult offered by Bhānumati and the attempt at Krishna's imprisonment are all the different items that ruffle the anger of Bhīma

The second act evinces greater skill on the part of the poet in the presentation of the various incidents in a dramatic way, the dream-scene of Bhānumati, the observance of a vow to assuage the inauspiciousness of it, the confusion of Duryodhana, the entrance of Dusshalā and the mother and the exit of Duryodhana–these incidents follow one after another The action advances considerably looking to the span of the second act The dream scene is a creation of the poet's fancy

The third act introduces ugly characters The राक्षसs, though historically aborigines of India, were mythologically quaint characters, speaking quaint phrases, and presenting ghastly and ghostly appearances Here they are appropriately named as वसागंधा and रुधिरप्रिय.

They discuss the philosophy of blood and flesh. The scene gives a full description of the havoc caused on the battle-field by the fighting of the two forces वसागन्धा is a good house-wife storing one hundred pitchers of blood of all the prominent fighters A drink of the Brahmin blood is humorously said to corrode the throat The tragic catastrophe which is to follow is gradually though grimly introduced by this scene

A man is but a means and never an agent of a thing. Bhīma drinks off the blood of his enemy. The unhuman and inhuman aspect of this is removed when राक्षस says that he will enter the body of Bhīma and do the ghastly work

The body of the act contains three incidents dramatically set forth · the grief of Ashwatthāman for his father's death, the altercation between him and Karna and the sudden news that Bhīma drinks off the blood of Dusshāsana The method adopted to do away with Drona is condemnable and rightly rouses the ire of his son Karna pours on his and his father's devout head the vilest possible calumny and charges him with treacherous motive The altercation scene unfolds a psychological point---how an irritable nature easily picks up quarrels

Each one of the three acts is quite sensational. The insult of one's own wife, the supposed faithlessness of one's wife, the unfortunate altercation, the ghastly scene of drinking blood, the murder of one's own father, the impeachment of the conduct of loyal servants are all very sensational events

In the fourth act सुन्दरक comes upon the stage and gives the description of the battle The character seems

to be copied from संजय of व्यास संजय was endowed with super-sensuous power and, therefore, could vividly and faithfully describe the fight to the blind king The vividness is found here also but it is monotonous

In the fifth act the parents make a pathetic appeal to their son Duryodhana and pursuade him to stop the horrors of war Karna is dead. Bhīma and Arjuna appear suddenly on the stage Ashwathāman makes his dramatic appearance and disappears again when insulted

The sixth act gives us the vow of Bhīma The act opens with the description of the disappearance of Duryodhana, his chase, and subsequent fight between him and Bhīma. Duryodhana is killed and Yudhisthira is crowned

In strict conformity to the rules of dramatics युधिष्ठिर is the hero of the dama because it is to him that the fruit of the action goes in spite of the fact that he is introduced towards the end of the play. There is no special delineation with regard to this character He is shown as he is in the M Bhārata The action does not depend upon him He is not responsible for closing or disclosing the events in the play There are two other characters who divide with him the honour of being the hero of the play, one being Bhīma and the other Ashwatthāman Bhīma is involved in all the incidents of the action He it is who is responsible for the final catastrophe. The character and the action are more inter-related in his case than in that of Yudhishthira It is Bhīma who gives the final stroke and secures the crown for his brother It is Bhīma who consoles and ties up Draupadī's dishevelled hair with gory hands and thus fulfils his vow Sentiment reaches its climax in his case

Venisaṁhāra is a drama of sentiment and viewed as such the sentiment rises most also in the case of Ashwatthāman. He, like Shylock, leaves the stage bereft of his father, of his friend, of heroism and above all of his self-respect The Venisamhāra is a comedy like the Merchant of Venice but is the greatest tragedy of chance in the case of Ashwatthāman

Bhīma is extremely fiery and in a fit of wrath wants to separate himself from his brother whose immunity from hatred he utterly dislikes. He disrespects and defies the elder brother and proceeds to the arsenal in anger which is further fanned by the arrival of his wife.

Sahadeo is calm and considerate and forms a good foil to the excitable character of Bhīma

Duryodhana is the counter hero in the drama and is as wicked as he is brave He is undaunted by defeat and exults over his success. Even in the grim din of the battle he is reluctant to leave the pleasures of his wife's company He has a strong mind and is free from superstition. His jealousy is roused by the narration of the incident which Bhānumati sees in her dream An inward scrutiny of his heart might betray a susceptibility to superstition but he wants to brush it aside He is an uncompromising adversary, a jealous friend, an affectionate son and brother and a warrior counting upon the succour of others.

Ashwatthāman appears in the third act with sword drawn out, moving in the arena amidst the din of fighting. Though Brahmin by caste he shows great valour saying "अथ मरणमवश्यमेवजन्तो । किमिति मुधा मलिनं यश· कुरुध्वे

He curses all Pandavas including the truthful Yudhishthira and the divine Krishna and swears to offer to the quarters the oblations of their flesh and blood His ardour and vigour are misinterpretated by the wily Karna. A fight of words both harsh and high instead of weapons takes place. When he finds his caste shields him from the valour of his opponents and gives him immunity from death, he revokes and disowns it His extremely emotional and impulsive nature lands him in rashness and inconsiderateness He suffers for no fault of his. He loses his father He is disrespected, is dishonoured and all possible insults are poured on his self-respecting soul and all this happens by chance In human life there are many incidents the occurrence of which baffles any genius but which is explained as the result of chance The potency of chance is well brought out in the character of Ashwatthāman Duryodhana and Dusshāsana have deservedly tragic ends but they themselves are responsible for them Duryodhana's feelings are deadened He has no sense of justice Quite in a hilarious mood he pours down all curses and sins on the pious head of the Pāndavas for which Nemesis comes down upon him with just and equal retribution Tragedy is there but he himself and his vicious circle are responsible for it Venisamhāra is, therefore, not a tragedy of vices, nor of errors but a tragedy of chance as far as the character of Ashwatthāman is concerned

Bhānumati is a dutiful and faithful wife She has a high regard for the elders Even though she does not sympathise with the malicious monstrocities of her husband, she observes a vow for his success She is superstitious

There is regard for brothers in Duryodhana, regard for sons in Dhritarāshtra and Gāndhāri, regard for friends in Karna, regard for self in Duryodhana and regard for self-respect in Ashwatthāman " The chief merit of the drama is individuality of character, the ferocity of Bhīma, the pride of Karna, the fiery but kindly temperament of Ashwatthāman and the selfish arrogance of Duryodhana are well delineated "

There is no Vidushaka. The writer possesses the characteristic of knitting humour with the horror of death in order to preserve the continuance of thought and unity of action As a relief from the seriousness and grimness of the whole situation some light mimicry of high treatment of the horror of death and the terrific scene of a battle-field is necessary and that is done in the scene of Rākshasa and Rākshasi. The death of so many invincible stalwart knights is nothing to these beings but a matter of rough humour They joke and sing as they dissect and chew the bones of dead warriors They have a pride in their business

The heroic is the main sentiment that is expressed through forceful language and through the virile characters दुर्योधन, कर्ण, भीम, अश्वत्थामन् and these are its आलंबनविभावs. The उद्दीपनविभावs are given by the forcible utterances of Bhānumati, Bhīma, Karna etc The defeat of Duryodhana and the success of Dharma are the अनुभावs and the courage, self-respect, and the vigour of the characters are the व्यभिचारिभावs

The one outstanding feature of the style is force due to the boldness and bluntness of the characters The altercation scene in III and the conversation in V present

the impressiveness of style which is effected by employing the contrast of words and ideas The force is out of place sometimes and, therefore, betrays want of simplicity and natural picturesqueness It makes the language laboured and the imagery artificial. The obsolute words, the long compounds, the tedious descriptions of Sundaraka make the style cumbrous Howsoever pathetically reminding the vocatives are, they obstruct the simple and the natural flow of the language The defect on the side of the intellectual qualities is made good by the merit on the side of the emotional qualities The ideality expressed in the violation of self-respect and the honour of one's own wife the insult and the slaughter of one's own father is a prominent emotional quality and it gives rise to strength

CHAPTER VIII

Vishākhadatta

Mudrārākshasa (The political drama)

The Sanskrit drama has always been charged with showing difficiency in variety both as regards plot-construction and characterization. There is always a stereotyped form laid down by old writers on dramaturgy and there is very little departure from it This tendency to confine very rigidly and scrupulously to the form already established produces its natural effect in crippling the high soaring imagination of the Sanskrit poets The usual form, scientific though it is, had a set plot, style and character and had a set purpose to achieve Departure or deviation from it requires a boldness from the author. Rare as such deviation is, we find some instances. Shūdraka and Vishākhadatta belong to the group of poets who have chalked out quite an independent path in the dramatics of India, not of course in form but in spirit Drama by convention and tradition is a commentary on the erotic sentiment which, in its manifold aspects, is evolved by the help of the hero and the heroine who meet, separate and again unite The intricate love-affair is the soul of the drama. This is set aside completely by Vishākhadatta and to some extent by Shūdraka. The variety in the characters, the various ups and downs that are commonly met with in the daily routine of life are the favourite topics with Shdraka. Mudrārākshasa stands equally apart from the general trend of the Sanskrit drama.

It is in the first place an historical drama in as much as the structure is built upon the real foundation of the life of a famous king, चंद्रगुप्त or Sandracotus of Megasthenes Besides this historical thread which is not mean and flimsy, the whole central theme is politics which hinges round about the relation of the king and his more famous minister Chānakya and the surrounding times. Strict veracity of history cannot and should not remain the same with a poetic pen and if it remains so, it will prove dry and tiresome The realism of history is spiced with the idealism which works an illusion on the minds of readers. In the political aspect, no other Sanskrit drama can be compared with Mudrārākshasa The Mālvikāgnimitra does show some signs of politics but they fade before the strongly coloured love-affair between Agnimitra and Mālavikā There is in this the total absence of marital or conjugal love which is the mainstay of the literature of imagination From first to last the feats of policy of Chānakya and Rākshasa, both veteran politicians, are exhibited The relieving feature comes in the sixth act which is the only green and lively spot in the arid area of the whole drama There is only one female—the wife of Chandanadāsa and her introduction is extremely pathetic as it forms the back-ground to the sternness of both duty and conscience.

The author of the drama, Vishākhadatta was the son of Bhāskaradatta and the grandson of Vateshwaradatta, both of whom were the administrative heads of principalities situated probably in the Himalayan districts as is clear from the geographical acquaintance which the poet shows with पर्वतदेश. The father of the poet styled himself as महाराज The Datta, a ruling family itself, was

subordinate to the suzarain king who is eulogised as रंतिवर्मा or दंतिवर्मा in the last verse of the Bharatavākya This रन्तिवर्मा or दन्तिवर्मा according to some scholars[1] seems to be identical with the Pallava sovereign who ruled about 720 A D , while according to others[2] (who read चन्द्रगुप्त) seems to be identical with Chandragupta II (3.5-413 A.D) of the Gupta dynasty, who overthrew the Mlechhas and wrested from them the territories they had seized in the Punjab " There are again other scholars[3] who read it as अवन्तिवर्मा who hold him identical with अवन्तिवर्मा of Kanauj " Avantivarman might be the Maukhari king whose son married Harsha's daughter " This Avantivarman was the patron of the poet who must have praised him in the epilogue The last identification of Avantivarman along with the reference to the rout of the Hunas which was complete in 582 A. D.[4] fixes the date of the author in the second half of the sixth century There is a parallelism between the tenth stanza of the 4th act of the play and 47th stanza of the 2nd canto of the Kirātārjuniya, the author of which lived in the fifth century.

Avantivarman is also identified with a king of that name who ruled in Kāshmire in 855 - 883 A. D. This is *corroborated by the internal evidence as regards the eclipse* which is identified by Jacobi with the one that took place on the 2 nd of December 860 A. D. Jacobi further holds that शर, the king's minister, had the play performed

There are thus two dates, *viz* 600 A. D. and 900 A. D. Chandragupta in the play cannot be that Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty. The poet also cannot be set down as a

1 Commentator Dhundiraj, and Rajāswāmi Saraswati
2 Prof S Ray M R
3 Mr Telang and 4 Prof K H Dhruva M R

younger contemporary of Kālidāsa as is done by Konow as the evidence of style, the language and the characteristics of the medieval drama militates against such an assumption Of all the evidences, the astronomical evidence brought forward by Jacobi, is tho most reliable

The variant विशाखदेव occuring in the prologue in some mss for विशाखदत्त makes him the author of some two verses given in Subhāshitāvali and ascribed to Vishākhadeo Dr Peterson sees an identity between the two Prof. Dhruva on the strength of one stanza given in सदुक्तिकर्णामृत has raised an issue regarding Vishākhadatta's authorship of another play dramatizing the story of Rama

The plot of the present play might have been suggested from old historical documents " The murder of the emperor Nanda by an agent of Chānakya, the installation of सर्वार्थसिद्धि on the vacant throne by राक्षस, the murder of पर्वतेश्वर and the reconciliation of राक्षस are all historical facts The secret spy-system on both the sides, the rescue of शकटदास, the bestowal of ornaments, the acquisition and restoration of the signet ring, the sham quarrel between

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1 तत्त्रिविष्टपमाख्यातम् तन्वङ्ग्या यद्वलित्रयम्
येना निमिपदाष्टित्व नृणामप्युपजायते । सु. १५४८
नेन्त्राचार्प श्रिता मेघर्निपतन्निर्झरोनगा ।
वर्गक्रवल्गवर्ता वभुर्मत्ता द्विपा इव सु. १७२८

2. रामोऽसौ भुवनेषु विक्रमगुणैर्यात प्रसिद्धि परा-
मस्मद्भाग्यविपर्ययाद् यदि पर देवो न जानाति तम् ।
वन्दीवेप यशासि गायति मरुद् यस्यैकबाणाहति ।
श्रेणीभूत विशालताल-विवरोद्गीर्णै स्वर सप्तभि. ॥ स. १४६५

Chānakya and Chandragupta, the dismissal of Rākshasa, the trust of his family with Chandanadās and his subsequent execution are events for which the creative imagination of the poets is responsible. They are all required by the exigenices of the plot

The प्रस्तावना is of the कथोद्धत type in which the actor enters catching up the word (*e g*. चन्द्रग्रहण) of the Sutradhāra In the first act the main item round which the action moves is the securing of the ring of राक्षस Nipunaka wanders in the guise of यमपटचर, comes by the ring while he is displaying the scroll before the ladies in the house of Chandanadāsa with whom Rākshasa has entrusted his family. Though the act opens with funny conversation between the spy and the disciple of Chānakya still it proceeds in all the grimness of command for dreads, threats, executions, flights and pursuits Anther plot for entrapping Rākshasa is laid—the desire for bestowing the ornaments and performing the obsequies of Parvateshwar. The whole first act is full of पताकास्थानs, dramatic ironies pertaining to words and situations The episode of flight of the several spies at the end of the act shows that the scheme has taken deep root

The second act introduces the आहितुण्डिक who describes the superior genius of Chānakya by whom all the attempts of Rākshasa's spies are foiled शकटदास is allowed to run away from the place of execution सिद्धार्थक, therefore, secures a warm corner in the heart of राक्षस who presents him with ornaments that are again deposited with him with the seal on

The third act describes the sham, affected quarrel between Chandragupta, and Chānakya, given rise to by the prohibition of the moon-light festival. The quarrel is an

illustration not only of a forceful dialogue but also of the insight of Chānakya with which he was managing the details of the administration He never takes any step unless there is a satisfactory and cogent reason for that The quarrel-scene is so successful that even Chandragupta for a time thinks that Chānakya is really excited when he says “ शिखा मोक्तुं बद्धामपि पुनरयं धावति कर ।

In the fourth act a breach is made in the camp of the enemy by poisoning the ears of Malayaketu against Rākshasa All schemes turn against him and ruin his cause The action rises gradually up to the end of this act after which it begins to resolve Every act is an independent whole given either to the description of Rākshasa or Chānakya The action goes by alternate turns and the onward march of the strategy of the two diplomats can be seen in its parallel course Bhāgurāyana, though not of cruel intentions, turns to account the duty of passing the passports क्षपणक discloses the episode of the poison-girl and makes the case of राक्षस worse

Parwateshwara is done to death सिद्धार्थक exhibits the anonymous letter and the sealed box of the ornaments Malayaketu, supercilious as he is, yields before the cogent arguments The writing belongs to Rākshasa, the seal unmistakeably belongs to him. The ornaments can never be mistaken by the wearer They are recognised by प्रतिहारी who identifies them with those of पर्वतेश्वर राक्षस is thus caught red-handed and non-plussed when challenged as to the veracity He submits to the charge and is hemmed in by the circumstances to admit that he is not an Arya

Rākshasa travels incognito in a forest in utter disappointment with the desire of putting an end to his life.

Chāṇakya presents a man who is bent upon putting an end to his life for the sake of his friend जिष्णुदास who throws himself in fire for the sake of his friend चन्दनदास is taken to the scaffold for giving shelter to the family of Rākshasa. This incident of inviting sufferance for a friend, though a bit exaggerated, works on the sentimental mind of राक्षस who by nature and habit a valiant man wants to put his sword in action and to set free Chandandāsa. That is also very cleverly averted.

Chandandāsa is actually taken to the scaffold in the next act. A delicate touch is given by introducing the innocence of a boy and the devotedness of a wife. The action in this act moves very slowly and calmly and the poet finds time "to treat his readers with lyrical snatches" as compared with the previous acts where the action runs more briskly and rapidly in the events of the execution of the five mlechha kings, the dismissal of राक्षस, the attack of मलयकेतु on चन्द्रगुप्त. The final interview of राक्षस and चाणक्य resolves the whole net-work of plot and counter-plots. राक्षस is won over, चन्द्रगुप्त is firmly planted on the throne and चाणक्य ties up the top-knot on his head.

Chāṇakya is the principal figure in the play. Historically speaking Chāṇakya is the son of चणक and is a descendant of Kutila belonging to a branch of भृगु according to व्यास. His name is विष्णुगुप्त. He is also the reputed author of a work on politics, supposed to have been written for instructing Chandragupta. He has got an enormous confidence in his powers. His disinterested service and attachment to the cause undertaken are marvellous. He always puts up a bold front and gives answers in an undaunted way. He is watchful over his men, setting spies

over spies 'Everything is fair in war' is the main dictum of his political theory His crookedness and mercilessness are apparent from the beginning His intellect has nothing impregnable or impenetrable He at once makes clear the object to be achieved and does not mind any hindrance No modesty he knows Gentility, delicacy, kindness are unknown to him The machinery which he sets to work, works quite automatically not so much out of respect for him as out of dread He is always alive to the merits of his enemies He openly calls Rākshasa as मंत्रिबृहस्पति and Chadandāsa as शिवि On all occasions and at all times he is seen engrossed with one thought — the accomplishment of his goal He is an expert in assuming airs, changing colours according to circumstances. Even the sudden news of flight of secret spies is received by him with the least consternation And though inwardly jubilant over the triumph of his craft, he presents an angry and excited appearance and curses them In inventing schemes Kāmandaki does approach Chānakya But Kāmandaki is not so bold and ingenious, nor so cruel and commanding both in invention and execution She though in yellow apron, is as dainty and lovely in action as Mālati is in her looks Chānakya is superior to Prospero who relies more upon hidden powers like magic and ghosts while Chānakya has his strength in his own powerful intellect Chānakya is one of those rare men of power and respect who will give their kingdom for their self-respect, who think their will to be divine, who take them to be the masters of fate and who fall in the temper of insolence He becomes a fool and tool of vanity and vengeance, the waking sign of which is always kept by him on his back — in the form of rolling and waiving hair The indignation issues from a right cause

—injury to self-respect, effects a terrible catastrophe, marks out a path of havoc and ravage and achieves the goal. There is very little scope for depicting the usual human passions. There is the high passion of revenge of the man of action. In the other characters there is the low passion of envy for this powerful man

THE COUNTER CHARACTER IN THE DRAMA —Rākshasa is the only one who does make a bold and in some sense a satisfactory approach to Chānakya But for his kind heart and loyalty to his master which two merits always bring him into trouble, he is in no way inferior to his rival. He is loving and loyal to a fault He is very appropriately described by Shakatadāsa in

अक्षीणभक्ति क्षीणेऽपि नन्दे स्वाम्यर्थमुद्वहन् ।
पृथिव्या स्वामिभक्ताना प्रमाणे परमे स्थित ॥

Laying deep schemes is not a favourite topic with him. He forgets his own spies and the missions assigned to them It is true that he cannot be a compeer with Chānakya in diplomacy but whatever genius he possesses is foiled by the foolishness, childishness, easy dupability and above all the want of confidence of Malayaketu He is more superstitious and emotional, more poetic, and imaginative, more heroic than his adversary He is conversant with politics and lays as many as six different schemes for destroying the attempts of Chānakya, but they are cruelly turned against him His character is real and historical. It cannot be the creation of the poet's fancy. Had it been so, the inauspicious name could not have been given to him

Both Chānakya and Rākshasa are astute politicians. Chānakya is cool and circumspect whereas Rākshasa is forgetful and blundering. "Chānakya is violent and in-

exorable, राक्षस gentle and relenting चाणक्य's ruling principle is pride of caste, राक्षस's, attachment to his friends and sovereign चाणक्य revenges wrongs done to himself, राक्षस, those offered to them whom he loves चाणक्य combines deep design, with impetuous passion, राक्षस notwithstanding his greater temperance is a bungler in contrivance and better as a soldier than a plotter

There is another pair of characters—Chandragupta and Malayaketu The former has a thorough reliance in the man whom he chooses as minister and is calm, sobre and obedient though he is inactive The hero of the drama may be in strict accordance witn the canons of dramaturgy, Chandragupta because the fruit of the action goes to him But great as Chandragupta is in the drama, the apparent master of its actions Chānakya is in reality the cause of all action and its centre His spirit dominates the whole "Chandragupta and Malayaketu" represent the contrast of ripe intelligence with youthful ardour and the weak petulence of one who does not know men's worth and who rashly and cruelly slays his allies on the path of treachery There are other minor characters, Bhāgurāyana, Chandandāsa *etc* that are very carefully drawn.

The style of the poet is forcible and direct though it is made dull by the dry subject of politics There is no pathos of Bhavabhūti, no poetry of Kālidāsa, no realism of Shudraka, no fairy-world of Shri Harsha The poet is expert in description, in moulding the language and in the use of figures of speech श्लेष is an important feature which gives rise to a good many surprise-situations The style suffers from tautology and ambiguity The constructions are loose and enigmatic and are full of प्रक्रमभंगs.

Appendix

दशरूपके प्रथमप्रकाशः

नमस्तस्मै गणेशाय यत्कण्ठः पुष्करायते ।
मदाभोगघनध्वानो नीलकण्ठस्य ताण्डवे ॥ १ ॥

दशरूपानुकारेण यस्य माद्यन्ति भावकाः ।
नमः सर्वविदे तस्मै विष्णवे भरताय च ॥ २ ॥

कस्यचिदेव कदाचिद्दयया विषयं सरस्वती विदुषः ।
घटयति कमपि तमन्यो व्रजति जनो येन वैदग्धीम् ॥ ३ ॥

उद्धृत्योद्धृत्य सारं यमखिलनिगमान्नाटयवेदं विरिञ्चि-
श्चक्रे यस्य प्रयोगं मुनिरपि भरतस्ताण्डव नीलकण्ठ· ।
शर्वाणी लास्यमस्य प्रतिपदमपरं लक्ष्म कः कर्तुमीष्टे
नाट्यानां किंतु किंचित्प्रगुणरचनया लक्षणं संक्षिपामि ॥ ४ ॥

व्याकीर्णे मन्दबुद्धीनां जायते मतिविभ्रम· ।
तस्यार्थस्तत्पदैस्तेन संक्षिप्य क्रियतेऽञ्जसा ॥ ५ ॥

आनन्दनिस्यन्दिषु रूपकेषु व्युत्पत्तिमात्र फलमल्पबुद्धि ।
योऽपीतिहासादिवदाह साधुतस्मै नमः स्वादुपराङ्मुखाय ॥ ६ ॥

अवस्थानुकृतिर्नाट्य रूपं दृश्यतयोच्यते ।
रूपकं तत्समारोपाद्दशधैव रसाश्रयम् ॥ ७ ॥

नाटकं सप्रकरणं भाणः प्रहसनं डिम· ।
व्यायोगसमवकारौ वीथ्यङ्केहा मृगा इति ॥ ८ ॥

अन्यद्भावाश्रयं नृत्यं नृत्तं ताललयाश्रयम् ।
आद्यं पदार्थाभिनयो मार्गो देशी तथा परम् ॥ ९ ॥

मधुरोद्धतभेदेन तद्द्वयं द्विविध पुन ।
लास्यताण्डवरूपेण नाटकाद्युपकारकम् ॥ १० ॥

वस्तु नेता रसस्तेषा भेदको वस्तु च द्विधा ।
तत्राधिकारिकं मुख्यमङ्गं प्रा[illegible]विदुः ॥ ११ ॥

अधिकार· फलस्वाम्यमधिकारी च तत्प्रभुः ।
तन्निर्वर्त्यमभिव्यापि वृत्तं स्यादाधिकारिकम् ॥ १२ ॥
प्रासङ्गिकं परार्थस्य स्वार्थो यस्य प्रसङ्गत ।
सानुबन्धं पताकाख्य प्रकरी च प्रदेशभाक् ॥ १३ ॥
प्रस्तुनागन्तुभावस्य वस्तुनोऽन्योक्तिसूचकम् ।
पताकास्थानकं तुल्यसंविधानाविशेषणम् ॥ १४ ॥
प्रख्यातोत्पाद्यमिश्रत्वभेदात्त्रेधापि तत्त्रिधा ।
प्रख्यातमितिहासादेरुत्पाद्य कविकल्पितम् ॥ १५ ॥
मिश्र च सकरात्ताभ्या दिव्यमर्त्यादिभेदतः ।
कार्यं त्रिवर्गस्तच्छुद्धमेकानेकानुबन्धि च ॥ १६ ॥
स्वल्पोद्दिष्टस्तु तद्धेतुर्बीजं विस्तार्यनेकधा ।
अवान्तरार्थविच्छेदे बिन्दुरच्छेदकारणम् ॥ १७ ॥
बीजबिन्दुपताकाख्यप्रकरीकार्यलक्षणा· ।
अर्थप्रकृतय पञ्च ता एताः परिकीर्तिता ॥ १८ ॥
अवस्थाः पञ्च कार्यस्य प्रारब्धस्य फलार्थिभि ।
आरम्भयत्नप्राप्त्याशानियताप्तिफलागमाः ॥ १९ ॥
औत्सुक्यमात्रमारम्भः फललाभाय भूयसे ।
प्रयत्नस्तु तदप्राप्तौ व्यापारोऽतित्वरान्वित ॥ २० ॥
उपायापायशङ्काभ्या प्राप्त्याशा प्राप्तिसभवः ।
अपायाभावत प्राप्तिर्नियताप्ति सुनिश्चिता ॥ २१ ॥
समग्रफलसपत्ति फलयोगो यथोदित ।
अर्थप्रकृतय पञ्च पञ्चावस्थासमन्विताः ॥ २२ ॥
यथासख्येन जायन्ते मुखाद्या पञ्च सधय ।
अन्तरैकार्थसबन्धः सधिरेकान्वये सति ॥ २३ ॥
मुखप्रतिमुखे गर्भ [illegible] पसहृतिः ।

मुखं बीजसमुत्पत्तिर्नानार्थरससंभवा ॥ २४ ॥
अङ्गानि द्वादशैतस्य बीजारम्भसमन्वयात् ।
उपक्षेप परिकर· परिन्यासो विलोभनम् ॥ २५ ॥
युक्तिः प्राप्तिः समाधानं विधान परिभावना ।
उद्भेदभेदकरणान्यन्वर्थान्यथ लक्षणम् ॥ २६ ॥
बीजन्यास **उपक्षेप**·, तद्बाहुल्यं **परिक्रिया** ।
तन्निष्पत्ति· **परिन्यासो**, गुणाख्यानं **विलोभनम्** ॥ २७ ॥
संप्रधारणमर्थानां **युक्ति**·, **प्राप्तिः** सुखागमः ।
बीजागम· **समाधानं**, **विधानं** सुखदुःखकृत् ॥ २८ ॥
परिभावोऽद्भुतावेश, **उद्भेदो** गूढभेदनम् ।
करणं प्रकृतारम्भो, **भेदः** प्रोत्साहना मता ॥ २९ ॥
लक्ष्यालक्ष्यतयोद्भेदस्तस्य **प्रतिमुखं** भवेत् ।
बिन्दुप्रयत्नानुगमादङ्गान्यस्य त्रयोदश ॥ ३० ॥
विलास· परिसर्पश्च विधूतं शमनर्मणी ।
नर्मद्युति· प्रगमनं निरोध· पर्युपासनम् ॥ ३१ ॥
वज्र पुष्पमुपन्यासो वर्णसंहार इत्यपि ।
रत्यर्थेहा **विलासः** स्याद्, दृष्टनष्टानुसर्पणम् ॥ ३२ ॥
परिसर्प , **विधूत** स्यादरतिस्तच्छम· **शमः** ।
परिहासवचो **नर्म**, धृतिस्तज्जा द्युतिर्मता ॥ ३३ ॥
उत्तरा वाक्**प्रगमनं**, हितरोधो **निरोधनम्** ।
पर्युपास्तिरनुनयः, पुष्पं **वाक्यं** विशेषवत् ॥ ३४ ॥
उपन्यासस्तु सोपायं, वज्र प्रत्यक्षनिष्ठुरम् ।
चातुर्वर्ण्योपगमन **वर्णसंहार** इष्यते ॥ ३५ ॥
गर्भस्तु दृष्टनष्टस्य बीजस्यान्वेषण मुहुः ।
द्वादशाङ्ग· पताका स्यान्न वा [illegible]प्तिसंभव ॥ ३६ ॥

अभूताहरणं मार्गो रूपोदाहरणे क्रम ।
सग्रहश्चानुमानं च तोटकाधिबले तथा ॥ ३७ ॥
उद्वेगसभ्रमाक्षेपा लक्षण च प्रणीयते ।
अभूताहरणं छद्म, मार्गस्तत्त्वार्थकीर्तनम् ॥ ३८ ॥
रूप वितर्कवद्वाक्य, सोत्कर्ष स्यादुदाहृतिः ।
क्रम सचिन्त्यमानाप्तिर्भावज्ञानमथापरे ॥ ३९ ॥
संग्रह सामदानोक्तिर्, अभ्यूहो लिङ्गतोऽनुमा ।
अधिबलमभिसंधि , सरम्भं तोटकं वच ॥ ४० ॥
तोटकस्यान्यथाभाव ब्रुवतेऽधिबल बुधा ।
संरम्भवचनं यत्तु तोटक तदुदाहृतम् ॥ ४१ ॥
उद्वेगोऽरिकृता भीति , शङ्कात्रासौ च सभ्रम ।
गर्भबीजसमुद्भेदादाक्षेप परिकीर्तितः ॥ ४२ ॥
क्रोधेनावमृशेद्यत्र व्यसनाद्वा विलोभनात् ।
गर्भनिर्भिन्नबीजार्थः सोऽवमर्शोऽङ्गसग्रह ॥ ४३ ॥
तत्रापवादसंफेटौ विद्रवद्रवशक्तय ।
द्युति प्रसङ्गश्छलन व्यवसायो विरोधनम् ॥ ४४ ॥
प्ररोचना विचलनमादान च त्रयोदश ।
दोषप्रख्यापवाद स्यात्, संफेटो रोषभाषणम् ।
विद्रवो वधबन्धादिर्, द्रवो गुरुतिरस्कृतिः ? ॥ ४५ ॥
विरोधशमन शक्तिस्तर्जनोद्वेजने द्युति ।
गुरुकीर्तन प्रसङ्गश्च, छलन चावमाननम् ॥ ४६ ॥
व्यवसाय स्वशक्त्युक्ति सरब्धाना विरोधनम् ।
सिद्धामन्त्रणतो भाविदर्शिका स्यात्प्ररोचना ॥ ४७ ॥
विकत्थना विचलनम् ,ꣳआदानं कार्यसग्रहः ।
बीजवन्तो मुखाद्यर्था [illegible] यथायथम् ॥ ४८ ॥

ऐकार्थ्यमुपनीयन्ते यत्र निर्वहणं हि तत् ।
संधिर्विबोधो ग्रथन निर्णयः परिभाषणम् ॥ ४९ ॥
प्रसादानन्दसमयाः कृतिभाषोपगूहना ।
पूर्वभावोपसंहारौ प्रशस्तिश्च चतुर्दश ॥ ५० ॥
संधिर्बीजोपगमनं, विबोधः कार्यमार्गणम् ।
ग्रथनं तदुपक्षेपो,ऽनुभूताख्या तु निर्णय ॥ ५१ ॥
परिभाषा मिथो जल्प., प्रसाद पर्युपासनम् ।
आनन्दो वाञ्छितावाप्ति , समयो दुःखनिर्गमः ॥ ५२ ॥
कृतिर्लब्धार्थशमनं, मानाद्याप्तिश्च भाषणम् ।
कार्यदृष्ट्यद्भुतप्राप्ती पूर्वभावोपगूहने ॥ ५३ ॥
वराप्तिः काव्यसंहारः, प्रशस्तिः शुभशंसनम् ।
उक्ताङ्गानां चतुः षष्टिः षोढा चैषा प्रयोजनम् ॥ ५४ ॥
इष्टस्यार्थस्य रचना गोप्यगुप्तिः प्रकाशनम् ।
रागः प्रयोगस्याश्चर्यं वृत्तान्तस्यानुपक्षयः ॥ ५५ ॥
द्वेधा विभाग कर्तव्य सर्वस्यापीह वस्तुनः ।
सूच्यमेव भवेत्किंचिद्दृश्यश्रव्यमथापरम् ॥ ५६ ॥
नीरसोऽनुचितस्तत्र ससूच्यो वस्तुविस्तर. ।
दृश्यस्तु मधुरोदात्तरसभावनिरन्तर ॥ ५७ ॥
अर्थोपक्षेपकैः सूच्य पञ्चभिः प्रतिपादयेत् ।
विष्कम्भचूलिकाङ्कास्याङ्कावतारप्रवेशकैः ॥ ५८ ॥
वृत्तवर्तिष्यमाणाना कथाशाना निदर्शकः ।
संक्षेपार्थस्तु विष्कम्भो मध्यपात्रप्रयोजितः ॥ ५९ ॥
एकानेककृत शुद्धः, संकीर्णो नीचमध्यमैः ।
तद्वदेवानुदात्तोक्त्या नीचपात्रप्रयोजितः ॥ ६० ॥
प्रवेशोऽङ्कद्वयस्यान्त शेषार्थ[illegible]चकः ।

अन्तर्जवनिकासंस्थैश्चूलिकार्थस्य सूचना ॥ ६१ ॥
अङ्कान्तपात्रैरङ्कास्यं छिन्नाङ्कस्यार्थसूचनात् ।
अङ्कावतारस्त्वङ्कान्ते पातोऽङ्कस्याविभागतः ॥ ६२ ॥
एभिः संसूचयेत्सूच्यं दृश्यमङ्कैः प्रदर्शयेत् ।
नाट्यधर्ममपेक्ष्यैतत्पुनर्वस्तु त्रिधेष्यते ॥ ६३ ॥
सर्वेषां नियतस्यैव श्राव्यमश्राव्यमेवच च ।
सर्वश्राव्यं प्रकाशं स्यादश्राव्यं स्वगतं मतम् ॥ ६४ ॥
द्विधान्यन्नाट्यधर्माख्यं जनान्तमपवारितम् ।
त्रिपताकाकरेणान्यानपवार्यान्तरा कथाम् ॥ ६५ ॥
अन्योन्यामन्त्रणं यत्स्याज्जनान्ते तज्जनान्तिकम् ।
रहस्यं कथ्यतेऽन्यस्य परावृत्त्यापवारितम् ॥ ६६ ॥
किं ब्रवीष्येवमित्यादि विनापात्रं ब्रवीति यत् ।
श्रुत्वेवानुक्तमप्येकस्तत्स्यादाकाशभाषितम् ॥ ६७ ॥
इत्याद्यशेषमिह वस्तुविभेदजातं
रामायणादि च विभाव्य बृहत्कथां च ।
आसूत्रयेत्तदनु नेतृरसानुगुण्या-
च्चित्रां कथामुचितचारुवचःप्रपञ्चैः ॥ ६८ ॥

तृतीयप्रकाशः

प्रकृतित्वादथान्येषां भूयो रसपरिग्रहात् ।
संपूर्णलक्षणत्वाच्च पूर्वं नाटकमुच्यते ॥ १ ॥
पूर्वरङ्गं विधायादौ सूत्रधारे विनिर्गते ।
प्रविश्य तद्वदपरः काव्यमास्थापयेन्नटः ॥ २ ॥

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